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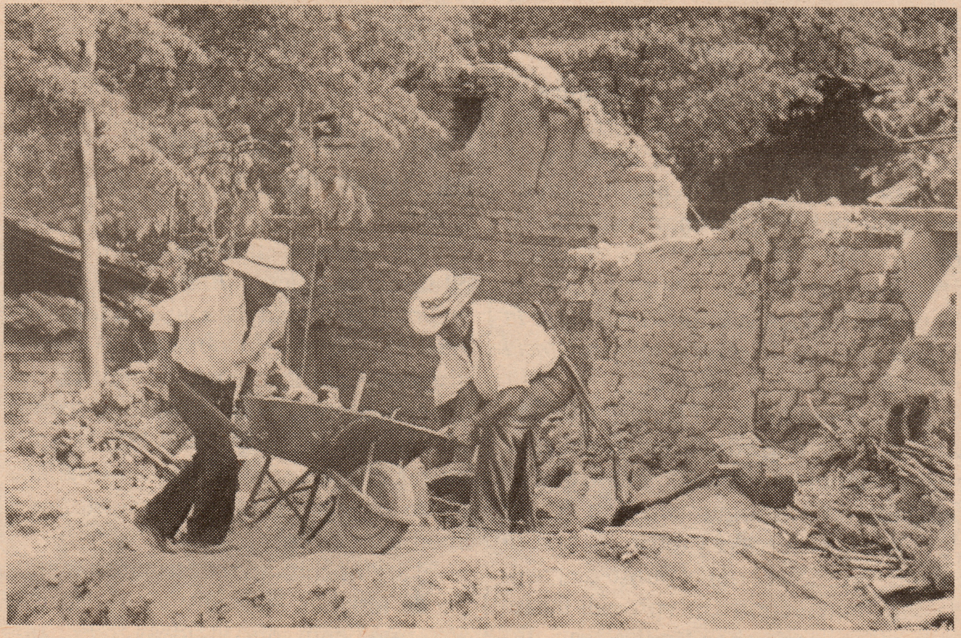
Derechistas Ganan en El Salvador

Por RON TABER

DESPUES de siete años de guerra civil y 70,000 personas matadas, la situación política en El Salvador se vuelve aun peor.



Jefe derechista, Roberto d'Aubuisson (arriba), cuyo partido, ARENA, ganó en elecciones recientes; los Demócratas Cristianos, encabezado por José Napoleón Duarte (izquierda), perdió. Arriba y izquierda: Salvadoreños reconstruyen un pueblo destruido por la guerra civil.

Más peligroso, el poder de fuerzas derechistas, organizadas oficialmente alrededor de la Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (ARENA), pero de hecho basadas en escuadras de asesinato y oficiales militares, está creciendo. En elecciones municipales y legislativas el 20 de marzo, ARENA ganó 30 escaños de un total de 60 en la Asamblea Nacional, solo un escaño menos de una mayoría. (Y ARENA reclama que se deprivó de aquel escaño por medio de fraude electoral llevado a cabo por agentes de otros partidos quienes trabajan por el Concejo Central de Elecciones.)

También en las elecciones, el conservador Partido de Conciliación Nacional (PCN) ganó siete escaños, dando a las fuerzas derechistas una mayoría en la Asamblea.

Tan significante como los resultados de las elecciones, y quizás más significante aun, el número de asesinatos políticos, la mayoría llevada a cabo por escuadras de asesinato asociadas con ARENA, están incrementándose. Aunque parece que ARENA está dividida entre facciones extremamente, y (¡solo!) moderamente, derechistas, y ya no está claro de que ARENA y el PCN puedan cooperar en la Asamblea, el mejoramiento de la fortuna de la derecha salvadoreña está obvio.

Reflejando la ascensión de la derecha, las fuerzas centristas organizadas alrededor del Partido Demócrata Cristiano, dirigido por José Napoleón Duarte, el cual ganó control sobre el gobierno desde hace cuatro años, se han sido declinando. En las elecciones del 20 de marzo, los demócratas cristianos ganó solo 23 escaños, perdiendo 10 que solían de tener.

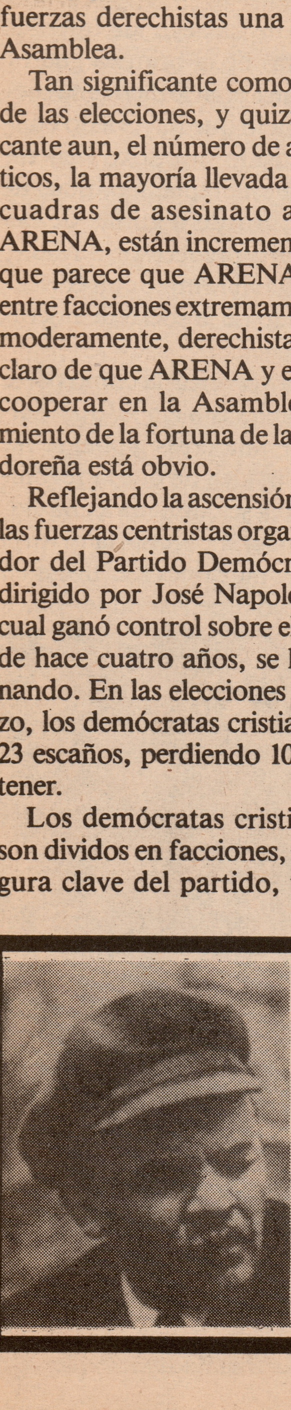
Los demócratas cristianos también son dividos en facciones, y Duarte, la figura clave del partido, tiene cáncer y probablemente va a morir dentro de este año. Habiendo prometido de llevar a cabo reformas progresistas políticas y económicas cuando se eligió, ahora se ve, aun por sus apoyantes, como ineficaz, si no corrupto. Muchas de los apoyantes del partido o no votaron o votaron por otros partidos o invalidaron, por una manera o otro, sus votos como una protesta. (El votar es obligatorio en El Salvador.)

El "ineficacia" del Partido Demócrata Cristiano, o algún partido cualquiero que prometa a llevar a cabo reformas en un país como El Salvador, no es sorprendiente. Poder abrumador está concentrado en las manos de un pequeñito élite que consiste primariamente de terratenientes grandes y miembros de sus familias dentro de los altos oficiales militares, quienes son fanáticamente comprometidos a su poder y privilegios.

No está claro si las fuerzas izquierdistas alrededor del Frente de Liberación Nacional Farabundo Martí han sacado ventaja como resultado del declive de los demócratas cristianos. Las fuerzas de la guerrilla han ciertamente sobrevivido el asalto del ejército salvadoreño, dirigido por 100 avisores militares de EU y un gran grupo de la CIA. Pero cuánto nuevo apoyo popular han ganado no se sabe. En un esfuerzo de aumentar tal apoyo, los guerrilleros han sido creando frentes políticos más amplio en varias ciudades, al mismo tiempo que continúan de proseguir la lucha militar.

En todo caso, por juzgar de la historia reciente de Nicaragua, y otros países en los cuales han tomado poder autoproclamados marxistas, una victoria para la izquierda, aunque preferida, no resultaría necesariamente en un aumento decisivo en los derechos políticos y el bienestar económico de los salvadoreños.

Mientras tanto, la lucha, esencialmente un estancamiento, continúa andando, mientras que se matan los salvadoreños y se devasta el país.



Un Examen del Leninismo — Sexta Parte

El Estado y La Revolución

Véa la Página 2

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Un Examen del Leninismo — Sexta Parte

El Estado y La Revolución

Esta es la sexta parte de una serie de artículos sobre el leninismo/ bolchevismo por Ron Taber. Estos artículos no representan necesariamente la posición oficial de la Liga Socialista Revolucionaria.

Por RON TABER

ESTA parte de nuestra serie sobre el leninismo se enfocará en *El Estado y La Revolución*. Escrita en el verano de 1917 durante de la revolución misma, ésta es una de las obras de Lenin más importante.

En muchas formas, esta parte es la más difícil para mí escribir. *El Estado y La Revolución* fue una de las primeras, si es que no la primera, obras de Lenin que yo haya leído. Este libro relativamente pequeño tuvo un efecto profundo en un adolescente que maduró en los años '60s.

Mientras de que mi familia era radical (la palabra entonces usada era "progresista"), *El Estado y La Revolución* me convenció de convertirme en leninista y de querer ser un revolucionario profesional "cuando creciera." Aquí me pareció que había una visión revolucionaria y democrática a la cual valía la pena dedicar mi vida. Yo leía *El Estado y La Revolución* al menos una vez por año por muchos años después.

Y en muchas formas, *El Estado y La Revolución* es la obra más libertaria de Lenin. Aquí estaba Lenin rompiendo decisivamente con las concepciones estatistas y reformistas de la Segunda (Socialista) Internacional, demandando un regreso a las ideas mucho más radicales que prescribiera Carlos Marx en sus escritos sobre la Comuna de París. Aquí estaba Lenin elaborando una noción de una sociedad revolucionaria basada en los soviets (consejos obreros) y otras instituciones de directo control obrero. Aquí estaba Lenin enfatizando que *la última meta de la revolución proletaria era la desaparición del estado*.

Por muchos años, *El Estado y La Revolución* fue la piedra angular sobre la cual yo elaboré mi política. Era lo que yo señalaba en mis argumentos en contra de posiciones liberales y reformistas. Era lo que yo usaba como el punto de partida para luchar contra mis propias ilusiones en los susodichos "países socialistas." Y era a lo que yo siempre regresaba en mi intento de desarrollar una concepción del socialismo, revolucionaria y democrática que permaneciera dentro del cuadro total del leninismo (vía el trotskismo, por ejemplo).

También era una de las obras de Lenin en las cuales yo tenía mayor dificultad en descubrir lo que he estado llamando "tendencias capitalistas estatales." Este libro me parecía tan revolucionario, bien antiestado, que por mucho tiempo no pude mirar ningún trazo de estalinismo/capitalismo estatal en este. Creo que fue éste, más que ningún otro más, que me preveniá de reconocer el papel que Lenin (y el leninismo) tuvieron en la creación del estalinismo/capitalismo estatal. Después de todo, si la visión de Lenin en 1917 era tan democrática y antiestado como parecía, entonces me pareció lógico el culpar de lo que pasó en Rusia a las "condiciones objetivas"—y a Stalin. Esto es, a todos y todo menos Lenin.

Porque la pregunta es importante

Aun, reconociendo las tendencias capitalistas estatales en *El Estado y La Revolución* es crucial para llegar a una evaluación realista del leninismo. Si el leninismo es significantemente estatista, debe ser aparente, o por lo menos discernible, en este libro. Si no lo es, entonces quizás el leninismo no es tan estadista como las anarquistas, antiautoritarios y libertarios dicen.

El argumento que se escucha a menudo de muchos anarquistas, libertarios, etc., que Lenin robó las ideas en *El Estado y La Revolución* de los anarquistas solo enloda las aguas. Acepta que el libro es un documento verdaderamente libertario y entonces evita un análisis serio de como Lenin, el archiestadista, pudo salir con esto reclamando que él en realidad no lo hizo.

Un análisis más significativo al menos intentaría mostrar los grados diferentes de continuidad y descontinuidad entre *El Estado y La Revolución* y los otras obras de Lenin. También analizaría las circunstancias que inducieron a Lenin a escribir tal obra, y más importante aún, intentaría dilucidar todas las tendencias capitalista/estatales que estén presentes en el libro, no importa que tan modestas o escondidas se encuentren éstas.

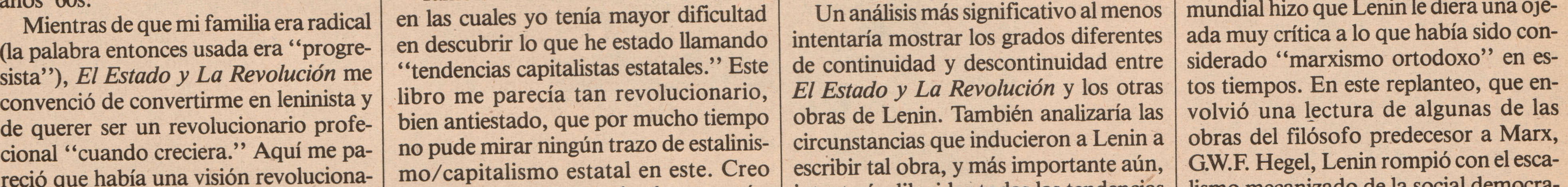
Sobre sus propios términos, el argumento que Lenin levantó mucho en *El Estado y La Revolución* de los anarquistas me parece inaplaudible. No quiero decir con esto que niego la posibilidad de que Lenin pudiera haber sido influenciado por las ideas anarquistas en este período (él de seguro comenzá ver los motívos ulteriores detrás de los ataques reformistas al anarquismo). Pero no creo que esto nos diga mucho. Desafortunadamente, Lenin no tenía ninguna simpatía sino desprecio por el anarquismo, el movimiento anarquista y el pensamiento anarquista: generalmente lo catalogaba como una forma de ideología pequeño burguesa, sin importar lo que hubiera pensado de individuos anarquistas militantes.

'El Estado y La Revolución' formado por los eventos

El génesis de *El Estado y La Revolución* está más razonablemente explicado por dos factores:

1. El colapso de La Segunda Internacional en vísperas de la primera guerra mundial hizo que Lenin le diera una ojeada muy crítica a lo que había sido considerado "marxismo ortodoxo" en estos tiempos. En este replanteo, que envolvió una lectura de algunas de las obras del filósofo predecesor a Marx, G.W.F. Hegel, Lenin rompió con el escalismo mecanizado de la social democracia.

El comenzó a ver a Rusia como parte de un sistema capitalista *global* que estaba sufriendo de una crisis global seria. Esto lo abrió a la idea de que la revolución rusa no debiá ser limitada a una etapa burgués-democrática hasta la victoria de una o más revoluciones socialistas en Europa y lo llevó a pensar en términos



El Tercer Todo Ruso Soviet de Trabajadores y Campesinos.

de una revolución dirigida por los obreros en Rusia, que seriá la primer batalla en una revolución socialista internacional.

2. Igualmente importante, la forma de esta revolución en Rusia, y el gobierno revolucionario que emergería de esta, eran sugeridos por el curso de la lucha de clases misma. Al tiempo que Lenin llegaba a Rusia a principios de abril de 1917, los obreros y los soldados no solo (espontáneamente) habían depuesto al zar. Ellos también habían establecido instituciones democráticas (soviets, comités de fábrica, etc.) y estaban, hasta un punto considerable, dirigiendo la sociedad rusa a través de estos. Entre sus reconsideraciones teóricas de las cuestiones básicas del marxismo y la realidad impositiva de los logros de los trabajadores rusos, Lenin no necesitaba pedir prestado, o robar, de los anarquistas, para concluir su obra de *El Estado y La Revolución*.

En mi opinión, pues, *El Estado y La Revolución* es el resultado orgánico del desarrollo del pensamiento de Lenin. Que es tan libertario como lo es es una reflección del impulso libertario en el marxismo y el aún más grande impulso libertario de las masas de obreros intentando el llevar a cabo una revolución social.

A pesar de todo esto, de cualquier forma, hay tendencias capitalistas/estatales en *El Estado y La Revolución*. Aquellos que quieren evaluar el leninismo desde un punto de vista libertario deberían de ser capaces de revelarlos y analizarlos.

¿Desaparecerá el estado?

Una de las razones por las cuales *El Estado y La Revolución* aparece ser muy libertario es que proclama que la meta principal de los marxistas es el establecimiento de una sociedad sin estado y por supuesto sin clases. La meta de la revolución socialista, Lenin insistía, era el establecimiento del comunismo, una sociedad sin clases sociales y sin ningún estado de cualquier clase. Esto no se intentaba para el futuro distante. A causa de la crisis mundial del imperialismo, esta meta era una práctica e inmediata.

Esto parecería ser muy obviamente marxista para aquellos que han leído a Marx y a Engels. Pero en ese tiempo, la afirmación de Lenin era vista bastante radical, porque la Segunda Internacional había calladamente anaquelado tales ideas (reservadas para los discursos del Primero de Mayo a lo máximo) como parte de los sueños "utópicos" e irreales de Marx y Engels en sus primeros años. La meta actual de la social democracia era crecientemente la de un estado capitalista democrático de tipo welfare. Para Lenin el resucitar y aún más el enfatizar la visión radical y aparentemente antiestadista de Marx y Engels (y el llamar la atención al hecho de que esto fue expresado tan tarde como 1871 en los escritos de Marx sobre los hechos de La Comuna de París) era casi herética.

A pesar de lo antiestadista de la llamada una revolución para establecer una sociedad sin clases y sin estado pueda parecer, una lectura cuidadosa de *El Estado y La Revolución* demuestra que el libro no es tan antiestado como aparenta. De hecho, es bastante pro estado pero de una manera muy sutil.

El orígen de esta paradoja es la noción de *el desvanecimiento del estado*. En la teoría marxista, el estado, después de una revolución socialista exitosa, no es abolido. Se desvanece lentamente: desaparece gradualmente. Esto fluye, supuestamente, de la misma naturaleza de la forma de gobierno establecido por un levantamiento proletario. El proletariado se alza, aplasta al viejo estado burgués y construye un nuevo estado basado en los consejos obreros y otras instituciones democráticas de la clase obrera y otras clases oprimidas. El trabajo del estado es primariamente el de derrotar a todos los intentos contrarrevolucionarios, el completar la destrucción del estado burgués, el terminar de suprimir a la clase capitalista y a otras clases opresoras y el llevar a las masas de obreros y otra gente oprimida dentro de las tareas administrativas de la sociedad. Al cierto grado que esas tareas son cumplidas, y la escasez relativa, la base material de una sociedad clasista y el estado, ha logrado sobreponerse, no existe ya más la necesidad de tal estado y este gradualmente desaparecerá.

Esto fluye de la naturaleza del estado mismo. Bajo sociedades clasistas, tales como sistemas esclavistas antiguos, el feudalismo, el capitalismo, etc., el estado es un instrumento de una pequeña minoría para mantener su gobierno sobre la explotada mayoría. Dada esta disparidad en el tamaño del opresor y las clases oprimidas respectivàmente, esta tarea requiere de un aparato grande y elaborado últimamente basado en la coerción y consistiendo de "cuerpos de hombres armados, prisiones, etc."

El estado después de una revolución proletaria exitosa, en la otra mano, no es un instrumento de una minoría pequeña sobre la vasta mayoría sino todo lo contrario. Es una arma de la vasta mayoría para suprimir a la antigua minoría gobernante y explotadora. Así, como termina sus tareas, no tiene ya más ningún propósito y gradualmente desaparece.

Mientras de que esto parece tener sentido, de hecho contiene un número de falacias. A fin de verlas, es valioso considerar lo que esta concepción de la naturaleza de un estado revolucionario y su eventual desaparición significa en términos de las tareas que enfrentan los revolucionarios. En otras palabras, ¿cómo los revolucionarios creyentes en esta teoría de el estado y su eventual eleminación creen que deben hacer durante y después de la revolución?

La estatua caída de Stalin en Budapest, 1956: "Una deidad oriental, sabia y omnisciente, a quien nunca habían visto y que nunca salió de su castillo misterioso en una ciudad muy lejos."

La aplicación práctica de esta teoría, me parece, es que la tarea clave de los revolucionarios después de una revolución proletaria exitosa no es el deshacerce del estado, sino *el construir uno nuevo*. Aún más, a fin de suprimir a la burguesía y a los otros explotadores más eficientemente, este estado debe de ser tan fuerte y todo poderoso como sea posible. Finalmente, desde que este nuevo estado "proletario," "inevitablemente" desaparecerá una vez que los explotadores y los contrarrevolucionarios sean suprimidos y los trabajadores sean llevados dentro de la administración de la sociedad, no hay ya más necesidad de protegerse los trabajadores, los revolucionarios o la revolución misma de su "propio" estado.

Esta es lo esencial de la paradoja que yo mencionaba arriba. Los mismos revolucionarios que reclaman que ellos están contra el estado, y por la eliminación del estado, que dicen que ellos son los únicos que pueden desaparecer al estado, etc., ven como su tarea central después de una revolución el construir un estado que sea más sólido, más centralizado y más poderoso que el anterior.

Esto, me parece, es el problema principal con *El Estado y La Revolución* y de hecho, toda la teoría marxista de el estado. En esta teoría, la meta principal (o una de ellas), la eliminación de el estado, supuestamente pasa por sí mismo; es llevado a cabo por el "proceso histórico." Los seres humanos no tienen que preocuparse de eso: de lo que se tienen que preocupar es de construir un nuevo estado.

Pero ¿qué pasaría si el proceso histórico no funciona tal y como Marx, Engels y Lenin pensaron que haría? ¿Qué pasa si algunos individuos o grupos de individuos en posiciones de poder en el estado nuevo deciden que no quieren que el estado y su poder desaparezcan?

El resultado, aun bajo óptimas condiciones, parece ser una sociedad "revolucionaria" gobernada por un aparato estatal, enorme, poderoso y omnipresente, el cual se justificará por la absurda noción de que el propósito de tal estado será para eliminar el estado. Nosotros llamamos esto capitalismo estatal.

Por un lado, la falsedad implícita en la teoría de el estado descrita en *El Estado y La Revolución*, puede ser descrita en la frase común "se mira muy bien en papel, pero. . . ." En otras palabras, es un pensamiento muy halagador, porque asume lo mejor.

En un nivel más o menos profundo, el problema es la creencia de que la teoría ha capturado la realidad completa del estado, su esencia, propósito, y dirección histórica. Desde que la teoría declara que la lógica de esta esencia, proposito y dirección histórica es que el estado será eventualmente eliminado, "negado," "trascendido" vía un proceso (aparentemente contradictorio) "dialéctico," esto es lo que inevitablemente pasará. La mentira, en otras palabras, es que la teoría ha reducido el desarrollo histórico a una (dialéctica) lógica que declara ser inevitable, aún si esto no puede ser así.

Aquellos que detectan una crítica del pensamiento hegeliano aquí están en lo correcto. En mi punto de vista, la teoría marxista de el estado y su eventual desaparición es esencialmente hegeliana. Aunque Marx y Engels sintieron que habían roto decisivamente con su filósofo mentor, la opinión marxista del mundo — desde su concepción de la historia, hasta el *Capital* y su análisis filosófico en el fondo — es fundamentalmente hegeliana. Aunque Marx y Engels describieron su punto de vista como un materialismo, en contraste al idealismo de Hegel, su opinión del mundo permaneció, en mi opinión, tan idealista como la de Hegel, aunque de manera inconciente.

(Continúa en la página 4)

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El Estado y L La Revolución

(Continúa de la página 3)

Las susodichas "leyes de la historia" tales como se expresan en el "materialismo histórico," son una clase de lógica, o pensamiento. Y es esta lógica la que últimamente determina la historia humana. Esto se llama idealismo.

Marx y Engels, o quizás solo Engels, ocasionalmente describió lo que ellos habían hecho al voltear a Hegel de cabeza, o al poner a Hegel de arriba abajo sobre sus pies. Pero Hegel volteado de cabeza o de adentro hacia afuera sigue siendo Hegel. Ya regresaremos a esta discusión de esta cuestión crucial en un artículo posterior dentro de esta serie.

La teoría de el estado de Lenin (y Marx y Engels) para repetir, está basada en la noción de que la (dialéctica) lógica de el estado (y el historia) garantiza que el estado en una sociedad reveolucionaria desaparecerá.

Pero ¿qué pasa si esta dialéctica lógica es demasiado nitida? ¿Qué pasa si esta visión de el estado (y la historia, la sociedad humana, etc.), ignora o define fuera de existencia otros aspectos del estado (y la historia, la sociedad humana, etc.) los cuales no son reductibles a la lógica (aún a la lógica dialéctica)? Si, fuera aun así tan brilllante, la teoría no es correcta en un 100% (y ninguna teoría puede jamás ser correcta en un 100%), las circunstancias pueden ser creadas en las cuales marxistas revolucionarios, fervientemente creyendo en la teoría marxista, y organizados en un partido extremadamente disciplinado y bien organizado, puedan crear una "dictadura del proletariado" que no desaparecerá tal y como suponía.

Creo que esto es, al menos en parte, lo que pasó en la Revolución de Octubre. Los bolcheviques buscaron la construcción de un aparato estatal fuerte, basado en los soviets, sindicatos y comités de fábricas. Convencidos de que lo más fuerte, eficiente y centralisado este aparato estuviera, lo más fácil sería el aplastar el antiguo aparato y a sus clases gobernantes, derrotar a los intentos de los contrarrevolucionarios y atraer a los trabajadores dentro de la administración de la sociedad, y convencidos de que una vez de que estas tareas fueran cumplidas y otras revoluciones hayan tenido éxito en el occidente, el estado iría desapareciendo, los bolcheviques no le dieron cabida a la otra meta supuestamente más alta, de deshacerse del estado. Aunque ellos proclamaban que su meta sería la eliminación del estado, su meta de hecho era la construcción de uno, más eficiente y más centralizado. Ellos triunfaron en ello.

La idea no es que los trabajadores y otra gente oprimida no deban de construir un par de organizaciones fuertes durante y después de una revolución para manejar la economía y la sociedad, defender sus logros y para suprimir a los explotadores, etc. Pero ellos también necesitan tomar pasos para prevenir un nuevo estado de que aparezca y los oprima. Esto es, ellos necesitan de analizar cuidadosamente y en concreto, como van a construir una sociedad sin un estado.

La teoría marxista de la dictadura del proletariado, tal como es elaborada en *El Estado y La Revolución*, arma al partido revolucionario con la necesidad de construir un nuevo estado revolucionario, pero *desarma* a los trabajadores acerca de la necesidad de luchar contra el nuevo estado en formación.

¿Qué clase de aparato?

Hasta este punto (si alguien no lo ha hecho todavía), alguien protestará que Lenin, citando a Marx, habla acerca de la dictadura del proletariado de manera que sería un estado de obreros armados, el proletariado organizando como la clase gobernante, un estado que ya haya comenzado a desaprecer, un estado que ya esté en el proceso de convertirse en un antiestado, etc.

Sí, alguien más diría, y él también incluría discuciones detalladas de varias medidas para mantener el control obrero sobre el estado, por ejemplo, el hacer que los soviets combinen los poderes legislativos y executivos, el hacer que los delegados de los obreros sean sujetos a retiración inmediata, el hacer que todos los oficiales del estado reciban al salario promedio de un obrero y no más, etc.

Esto es en verdad cierto, aunque qué tan detalladas estas discusiones son y qué tan efectivas serán las medidas propuestas puede ser debatido (dejando por un lado la pregunta de si alguna vez los bolcheviques trataron seriamente de implementarlas).

El problema, sin embargo, no es si Lenin alguna vez pensó en cómo los trabajadores podían controlar el nuevo aparato del estado, sino que su misma concepción de ese aparato era burguesa. En el capítulo anteriór de esta serie (en *La Antorcha* de 15 de mayo–14 de junio), yo descifraba la infatuación de Lenin con la tecnología burguesa, la centralización, la planeación tecnocrática, etc. Lenin parecía asumir que la industria capitalista, las técnicas administrativas, etc., eran neutrales entre las clases, es decir, que lo que las hacía burguesas era que eran controladas por la burguesía y eran usadas para promover sus intereses.

Aquí Lenin asumía que después de una revolución, los trabajadores podían apoderarse de esta industria, tecnología, etc., *más o menos como estaban*, y así ponerlas a trabajar para ellos. Todo lo que era necesario, él pensaba, era que los trabajadores necesitaban ser capaces de controlarlo (aunque para 1918, en mi opinión, el parecía aprobar que el control por parte del partido bolchevique era suficiente para garantizar el control de la clase trabajadora; en 1922–23, el aparentemente mostró un cambio de opinión, pero para esa hora ya era demasiado tarde).

Lenin en agosto del 1917, cuando escribió 'El Estado y La Revolución.'

No se le ocurrió a él que la industria capitalista, la tecnología, la técnica administrativa, etc., eran burguesas de cabo a rabo, en su misma estructura. El mismo error es aparante en *El Estado y La Revolución*.

Por ejemplo: como lo sabemos, Lenin estaba muy impresionado con el sistema postal alemán y creía que su contenido clasista no residía en su forma de organización, sino en el hecho de que estaba subordinado a un estado de terratenientes-junkers. Esta idea aparece en *El Estado y La Revolución*. Vale la pena citar pues un párrafo extensamente.

> Un sagaz social demócrata alemán de los setentas en el siglo anterior llamó al servicio postal como un ejemplo del sistema económico socialista. Esto es muy verdedero. En el presente el servicio postal es un negocio organizado en base de un monopolio capitalista estatal. El imperialismo está gradualmente transformando todas las companías en organizaciones de tipo similar, en las cuales, al estar paradas sobre la gente "común," que están sobretrabajadas y mál comidas, uno tiene la misma democracia burguesa. Pero el mecanismo de la administración social está aquí a la mano. Una vez que hallamos derrocado a los capitalistas, aplastado la resistencia de estos explotadores con la mano de hierro de los obreros armados, y aplastado la máquina burocrática del estado moderno, nosotros tendremos un mecanismo esplendidamente equipado, libre de los "parásitos," un mecanismo el cual podrá muy bien ser continuado por los mismos trabajadores unidos, quienes emplearán técnicos, capataces y contadores, y pagarles a *todos*, como de hecho a *todos* los oficiales del "estado" en general, los salarios de cualquier obrero, Aquí está una tarea práctica la cual puede ser cumplida inmediatamente en relación a todas las companías, una tarea la cual con su cumplimiento liberará a la gente trabajadora de la explotación... Para organizar *toda* la economía en base de este servicio postal...toda bajo el control y el liderazgo del proletariado armado — ésta es nuestra meta inmediata. Este es el estado y éstos son cimientos que necesitamos. (*Obras Coleccionadas*, vol. 25, pp. 426–27, énfasis en el original.)

Leyendo esto a la luz de todo lo que ha pasado en los países capitalistas estatales (y negando dar a Lenin el beneficio de la duda, tal como acostumbraba a hacerlo), yo encuentro este pasaje verdaderamente atemorizante. Lenin quería organizar a *toda la sociedad* casi a la línea como el sistema postal alemán, repleto de técnicos burgueses, capataces, etc., bajo la ilusión de que esta estructura podía ser efectivamente controlada por los trabajadores. Aun si todas las medidas que Lenin proponía fuesen implementadas, este aparato eventualmente acabaría dominando a los trabajadores, en vez de que fuese esto al revés.

Esto es porque el aparato mismo, *la forma en que está organizada*, su estructura, su modo de operación, etc., es burgués (el sistema postal alemán, era probablemente en parte feudal). Tal como opera, reproduce relaciones sociales burguesa dentro de este; ésta es la misma condición de su operación. Aun garantizando que Lenin tenía la mejor de las intenciones, una sociedad entera construida a lo largo de la línea que él está describiendo, parece más una pesadilla burocrática que una sociedad moviéndose hacia la eliminación del estado.

Desafortunadamente, éste era el modelo que Lenin y los bolcheviques usaron para reorganizar la sociedad rusa, durante la primevera de 1918 y después. Esto explica porqué ellos subordinaron los comités de fábrica a los sindicatos, porqué instituyeron la administración de un individuo, porqué contruyeron un ejército con la disciplina tradicional, comandado por generales zaristas, etc., etc. No podemos culpar de todo esto a la crisis económica, la contrarrevolución, la revuelta de los social revolucionarios, etc. Mientras de que estas medidas específicas pueden ser determinadas por estas condiciones objetivas, la inclinación general, la orientación completa, están presentes en *El Estado y La Revolución*, escrita cuando Lenin estaba muy optimista acerca de la revolución rusa y la revolución internacional por consiguiente.

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Pacifism...

(Continued from page 9)
wars or like the idea of mass bloodshed. Perhaps there are state-socialists who have such dreams, but we should not. Violence is corrupting, hardening the heart and tending toward authoritarian methods, as the pacifists say.

But I do not believe that the capitalist ruling class (under which I include the Russian state capitalist bureaucracy) will peacefully give up power. It will not abandon its enormous wealth, power, and privileges. It will not allow the majority to democratically vote it out of existence. (Think of how the Southern slaveholders reacted when Lincoln was elected: They started a counter-revolutionary civil war.) It will not step aside in the face of strikes and non-violent demonstrations. It will use fascist goon squads (some of which are already organizing) and military conspiracies to try to drown the movement in blood. This is what happened in Germany in the 1930s, and in South Africa in 1960.

In the face of inevitable violent attack, a large movement of workers and oppressed people should be prepared to defend itself. "Preparation" includes organization and armament. "Defense" includes breaking up nests of fascists and the Klan. *The better prepared the people are to militantly defend themselves, the less violence there will be.* A strong, united movement of labor and oppressed will win over many people in the middle and frighten many who might be tempted to join the counter-revolution. A weak, vacillating, non-violent movement will only encourage the enemy to attack.

Perhaps the *fundamental difference* between pacifists and revolutionary socialists is that we believe there are real, irreconcilable conflicts of interest in society. The pacifists believe that all conflicts can be ironed out, that all disputes can be ultimately settled, if people would only be reasonable and peaceable-minded.

Unfortunately this is not so. The ruling class of the U.S. cannot permit its oppressed colonies to break free—because without the profits drained from those countries it could not maintain its wealth. For the same reason it cannot permit competing imperialist rulers—those of the Soviet Union or Nazi Germany, for example — to take away its colonies. The U.S. rulers must be prepared to wage war to keep its colonies and world power. Pacifist plans to get the U.S. to stop looting and invading "Third World" countries will never work. Neither will popular plans for the rulers of the U.S. and the USSR to embrace and then dismantle their armaments. If the U.S. could not hold down its colonies by force — if the Soviet Union could not hold down Eastern Europe and its internal oppressed nations —these empires would fly apart within a few years. And if they each could not keep the other one from taking over their colonies, they would wither away.

Contrary to pacifist belief, the rulers do not fight wars because they have created weapons and armed forces. Instead, they create weapons and armed forces because they need to fight wars. If we want an end to all wars we must create a world without fundamental conflicts of interests: without class divisions, national oppression, or other forms of subjugation.

As human beings it would be in the interest of the capitalists to give up their system. After all, this system of statist-imperialist capitalism threatens to exterminate them and their children along with the rest of humanity. But for individual capitalists to move in a human direction would require that they act contrary to their interests as members of a ruling class. On the other hand, when the workers and other oppressed groups fight for their class interests, these naturally point in the direction of a society without oppression, a free, classless society. If and when the oppressed struggle for an anti-statist socialism, individual capitalists may come over to our side, but the capitalist class as whole will resist bitterly and violently. This is not how I would like the world to be; but it is the way the world is.

Do the ends justify the means?

Philosophically, pacifists attack the slogan that "the ends justify the means." Others have used this slogan to justify all sorts of atrocities. Let me restate the basic idea: *ideas and actions are justified by their consequences*. It is good to have good intentions, but what finally counts is whether these intentions produce good results.

For example, a committment to peace and love is all very well, but if your nonviolence does not work to get rid of war and oppression then your actions are no good to anyone.

For another example, you may desire a world of socialist justice, but if your method is to suppport one-party "Communist" dictatorships, then your good intentions are meaningless.

In other words, the ends do justify the means, but only the real ends that happen, not the ends you would like to happen. This is a standard, I believe, that rejects both pacifism and Marxism-Leninism.

Pacifists argue that the means used must be consistent with the ends pursued. Only nonviolent means can win a nonviolent society, they say. I have argued that this is not a simple matter. Nonviolent revolutions have set up authoritarian, militarist states. Armed revolutions have been able to combine nonviolent approaches with necessary violence. In general I would say, the means should be consistent with the ends sought, as much as is possible. We must use only the least killing, suppression, and authority as is absolutely necessary.

For thousands of years, the greatest teachers of humanity's religions and philosophies have taught the value of cooperation and solidarity. And they have taught the value of freedom and opposition to oppression. Under today's conditions there can be no higher virtue than to fight for a cooperative, free world. Whatever advances this goal is good, what hinders it is bad. But to advance the goal means to really advance it, not to just have good intentions. Good socialist intentions can never justify methods which typically have bad results: supporting dictatorships, tying the workers to capitalist politicians, lying to working people in order to be popular, brutal terror. Nor do they justify holding back the struggle out of fear of popular violence.

Pacifists point to the unity of the human race and the need for human community. We too point to human unity, emphasizing the possible unity of all the oppressed, whatever their background or nation. But we also point out the clash of interests between the oppressed and the capitalist oppressors. We want the workers, the poor, gays, youth, women, Blacks, Latinos Filipinos, etc., to stand up for themselves, to see themselves as independent of the oppressors. The independent struggle of the oppressed is the best, most moral, means in the world. It has the best chance of producing good ends.

We will not have an end to war unless we are willing to disarm the rulers of the world. To do that we will have to fight. □

Bullet holes in dorm at Jackson State College, 1970, after state police shot up Black protest, killing six. Above: Robert F. Williams formed armed defense squad in Monroe, N.C., 1962, to defend NAACP chapter against Ku Klux Klan.

South Korean students hurl firebombs in anti-government protest, 1988.

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the creation of a revolutionary movement. By identifying our common enemies and uniting to fight and defend ourselves against them we build the trust and cooperation necessary to coordinate revolutionary activity.

INTERNATIONALISM—Social revolution is the international struggle of the oppressed. The struggles of Polish and Korean factory workers, Salvadoran and Afghan peasants are the same as ours. It can not be confined by borders. Solidarity must be extended internationally. Contacts must be made around the world and actions must be coordinated to maximize their impact on the systems of oppression.

CLASS WAR—Uniting the oppressed to seize control of their lives means making war on the oppressors. The sustained attack on the oppressors on a variety of fronts is necessary to the creation of a revolutionary situation. Strikes, occupations and other direct actions are transformed from localized struggles to battles for the direction of society.

INSURRECTION—The act of the armed seizure of every aspect of our daily lives and destruction of the institutions of oppression prepares the world for elimination of authoritarian social relations. Historically, no ruling class has ever given up its power without an armed struggle. There is no reason to believe that the best armed and most powerful ruling class ever will be any different.

There are some specific forms of activity that revolutionary groups must take up to make any contribution to the emergence of revolutionary situations.

STUDY AND EDUCATION. It is necessary to grasp the nature of the world we live in, understand the lessons of past revolutionary efforts and create theory that serves us in our practical activity. Serious study and education efforts need to be extended to the broadest sections of the movement possible.

The sharing of analytical, strategic and tactical skills. These are tools that empower individuals to understand the world and act decisively to transform it.

BUILDING MASS MOVEMENTS. Mass movements give large numbers of people the experience of conscious struggle that prepares them for social revolution. Mass movements offer revolutionaries greater opportunities to test out theory in practice. As long as they occur within existing society these movements will to some degree reproduce prevailing authoritarian social relations within them. The struggle to make such movements democratic and self managed and the process of contesting the existing system prepare participants for the questions that will confront us in revolutionary situations.

A Network of Revolutionary Groups

Towards the creation of revolutionary situations autonomous revolutionary groups are formed that engage in action, self-education and propaganda on a local level. These groups are organized among the already disaffected. Confined to local activity these groups eventually must seek the strength of larger numbers for defense against repression, the theoretical gains from a larger body of experience and in order to confront aspects of the systems of oppression that cannot be confronted locally. These groups are compelled to build regional, national and international networks.

These networks recognize the autonomy of the local groups.

These groups and networks also seek, for the same reasons, coalitions and alliances with groups which with they share certain common ground.

The North American Anarchist Network is a network of active revolutionary anti-authoritarian groups which seeks to advance our common aims by coming together for discussions and by coordinating common projects.☐

'Millions Controlled by Moscow'

By "b"OB McGLYNN

FIRST, I'll get into one gaping hole in the document. (Later I'll get into the "need" of a "manifesto" at all, and if needed should it only have a "political" character.) Yup, it's my favorite flaming pathological (and "correct"!) preoccupation: Where's the Soviet bloc, China, etc.??? I believe the lack of a world critique is just an oversight on the part of Backroom, as it is an the part of other anarchists, libertarian socialists, etc. So I'm not "pissed" about it, and I don't think Backroom is stupid or anything. But its an oversight that shouldn't be there, especially for anti-authoritarians. I think (I hope!) Backroom would say: "Whoops! Y'er right!"

The document reads like the "left" (CISPES, *Guardian*, Mobilization for Survival, *Monthly Review*, M–L's ad nauseam) wrote it. "Capitalism" and "imperialism" of the "most developed capitalist countries" rule and fuck everyone. Well, it's simply not true. I don't care how much of the international market is controlled by the West, or if there is "one world economy" now (dominated by the West) as some theorists would have it.

There are *hundreds of millions of people controlled* by Moscow, whose immediate boss, and enemy, *is Moscow, not Wall Street*. There are *one billion* people in China whose enemy is the central Chinese state, not Thatcher or Reagan. Albania and North Korea are not even penetrated much at all (although this will probably change at some point) by Western capital ("imperialism"—a word often reified, but that's another article). Western capital certainly does exploit people in the "communist" sphere, Poland's debt being one of the grosser cases. But that is secondary to the exploitation and primary authority of the Polish ruling class and *Soviet* imperialism.

Actually, let's get back to "imperialism" in its self-serving use by the "left" as a Western (reified) "thing." The world has plenty of imperialists. The Soviets are extremely adept at it. The threat to the people in the Soviet bloc is not Western imperialism but Soviet imperialism. Western multinationals don't rule Kabul — or Latvia, Estonia, Mongolia.... (Look at a map. Look at how *big* the USSR is. *It is an empire* of many colonies, still the "prisonhouse of nations" that existed under the czars.) The people at Backroom (and I'm not picking on them, I'm critiquing this oversight by all of us) could've at least thrown in a condemnation of "state capitalism." I'm not sure how to define the "communist" countries ("Asiatic modes of production" trying to capitalize themselves, I think makes most sense). But for sure they are not mere adjuncts of the in fact powerful Western traditional capitalists. They have *their own* dynamics, however much some of them are opening up to Western capital, and in fact there are still feudal, slave, "Asiatic" (all powerful centralized states controlling all politics *and* economics), and patriarchal-tribal modes of production in the world.

The point is to point out all oppressive modes of society—and I can hardly see anyone having a problem with that—as that is one of the central themes of anti-authoritarianism. (This is probably as good a place as any to say that while I certainly consider myself anti-authoritarian [whatever that means] I don't define myself as an anarchist—though when *accused* of it [yuk, yuk] I take it as a *compliment!*)

Other problems: I don't know if a shared statement is possible at all at this early date with such a diverse group of people. But I also don't know if it's a good idea at all—"manifestos" remain static while the universe shifts. They become ideology and therefore inherently authoritarian, as it is possible for a manifesto to become fetished. Okay, okay! So I'm over-intellectualizing! A statement after all is just something to let people know who we are. But it is simplistic to not see the dangers, as the world is full of people shaking manifestos in each other's faces, often backed up by airstrikes, e.g., Bibles, Korans, *What Is To Be Dones*, constitutions....

It reads pretty okay "politically." I could nitpick away at it, but that's not my main problem; there's no *dream* in it, no *poetry*, no where to wander to. There's no hallucinogen, no marvel, no garden to fuck in, no portals to drift through. What turns me on would be some sort of mix of the communist/surrealist/Japanese Dada manifestos: Franklin Rosemont's "Absolute Divergence"; Hakim Bey's poetic prose and rantings; "Street Fighting Man" and "It Must Be a Camel"; Little Rascals episodes and Beetle Bailey cartoons; something that can *only be read in the nude* — all accompanied by everything from sitar to orchestras of automatic weapons....

Hey, lemme outa here before I start writing the fucking thing! My suggestion though would be to let the discussion of a "statement" just *drift* for the time being and not drive ourselves crazy about it. It is a pure idealist fetish to come up with a piece of paper and start a movement around it — it should be the other way around.☐

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We reprint below a draft statement of principles and organizational structure prepared for a meeting of anarchists in Atlanta in January 1988. It originally appeared in MAYDAY! #3. It was written by people from Back Room Anarchist Books, 2 E. 27th St., Minneapolis, MN 55408. Following it are comments by "b"ob McGlynn, a member of Neither East Nor West (New York), and an anti-authoritarian activist for many years.

'Social Revolution Is International'

BACK ROOM Anarchist Books proposes that the North American Anarchist Network meeting in Atlanta draft a statement of principles and organizational structure for further discussion, revision and acceptance at the Toronto anarchist gathering. We are aware of the potentially divisive nature of such an undertaking. We feel that it is necessary to clarify some basic questions before we can really build the network. We hope that discussions can be comradely and directed towards articulating our actual points of unity. We are submitting a working statement of principles as a starting point for discussion. We have no illusions that this statement is not fundamentally flawed and encourage groups to take it up for critical discussion before the Atlanta meeting.

The Current Situation

We must act. Nuclear weapons threaten to annihilate all life on earth in a period of minutes. Industrialism wreaks ecological havoc that also threatens us with extinction. These are only the most outrageous aspects of a society that kills us slowly by denying us the real human community we need to live. In the midst of abundance the majority of humanity must struggle daily for their most basic needs. Terror, poverty, alienation and misery breed rebellion. To crush even the slightest authentic defiance an increasingly lethal and sophisticated repressive apparatus is erected. Surveillance cameras, computerized files and police beatings are tools in a general practice of intimidation. We have an urgent need to act in the face of this situation.

The current situation is rooted in specific authoritarian social relations that must be fought:

Patriarchy, the division of labor and subsequent social divisions between women and men in which men dominate women. The patriarchal family, sexual violence and the economic superexploitation of women as wage slaves and unpaid houseworkers are parts of the systematic oppression of women.

The Division of Society into Economic Classes. The owning class; which controls the means of production, land, investment capital and the political machinery needed to preserve their status; is sustained in luxury by the exploited labor of the working class, the vast majority of humanity. Capitalism, the form of class society where human labor has been reduced to a commodity to be bought and sold, now dominates the world, expanding its control over every facet of our daily lives.

The Systematic Oppression of Nationalities. The physical, cultural and linguistic diversity of humanity is exploited to divide the oppressed against each other through racism. Certain sections of the working class are given privileges through the superexploitation of oppressed nationalities. These privileges obscure the common interests of all oppressed people and constitute a major obstacle to working class solidarity.

Imperialism, the economic, military and cultural domination of the world by the ruling classes of the most developed capitalist countries. Imperialism relies on the privileges it gives workers in the imperialist countries to divide them against the rest of the international working class. This division often compels the workers in colonized countries to join in national liberation struggles. Ultimately, national liberation struggles can only renegotiate the terms of their exploitation under international capitalism. Such struggles erode the material basis for the privileges enjoyed by workers in imperialized countries. Defending itself abroad, international capitalism is renewing its attacks on workers within the imperialist countries. This lays the foundation for true working class internationalism.

The complexities of these authoritarian relations give rise to sharp divisions among the oppressed. The oppressed are united by the simple fact that the vast majority of people do not control the decisions that affect their lives.

For a Free Society

There exists the material basis for a society that fulfills real human needs and desires as an integral part of the earth's ecology. The society we seek is one where all people control their destinies, the decisions that affect them and the material means by which they live their daily lives. It is a society without bosses, prisons, landlords, priests, politicians or cops. Power will be in the hands of freely formed groups of people who work and live together, federated as necessary for the coordination of production and other activity. Within existing society people create alternatives that are a glimmer of the future we desire. Through strikes, mass movements, cooperatives and countercultural activity people grasp for control of their lives. These efforts are not enough. They can be recuperated by the systems of oppression. They often reproduce prevailing authoritarian relations within them. They rarely go beyond single projects to challenge the totality of oppression. The society we seek cannot exist as long as authoritarian social relations continue. This contradiction is growing sharper daily. Millions of people are seeking to do what must be done to transform existing social relations. Many are recognizing the need for complete social revolution.

The Social Revolution

We are seeking the creation of situations in which the social revolutionary project can be realized by the whole world. We recognize that a revolutionary situation exists when inevitable crises in the systems of oppression occur and revolutionary groups exist that can expose these crises, further polarize society and reveal revolution as an attractive option for the majority of the oppressed. We recognize that in such situations new forces spontaneously emerge and different groups can reflect different aspects of the total struggle. It is the revolutionary self-activity of the oppressed that is necessary for the creation and successful fulfillment of revolutionary situations.

Revolutionary self activity is impossible without the use of the following tools:

Propaganda—The dissemination of information and analysis is essential for both the revolutionary self consciousness of the oppressed and the continuity of organizational efforts.

Direct Action—Confronting the systems of oppression directly by disrupting them at vulnerable points exposes the system, empowers the participants and is practical activity from which valuable lessons can be drawn.

Solidarity—Building support for other people in struggle is essential for

'Revolution is a festival of the oppressed'—a taste of the future, Minneapolis, spring 1988.

rassment in the Cold War and a nuisance at home. Under the pressure of the movement, the capitalist system could abandon the segregationists. (To actually liberate Black people would be another matter.) But if the segregationists had run the country, they would have kept on killing Black people until the non-violent movement was smashed (or turned violent).

This is exactly what did happen in South Africa. The National Party, fanatically segregationist, took power in 1948. For decades South African Blacks and others had engaged in large-scale non-violent demonstrations. It was in South Africa that Gandhi first used non-violent tactics (for Indians). A leader of the African National Congress, Chief Albert Luthuli, got a Nobel Prize for his advocacy of pacifism in South Africa. Finally the racists decided to wipe out the movement. In 1960 they mowed down non-violent demonstrators in the infamous Sharpeville Massacre. From then on all sections of the movement abandoned non-violence as unworkable against such an enemy.

In our own time period, we have seen a revolution in Nicaragua. Before the final battles, there was an attempt at non-violent methods under the leadership of "moderate" businesspeople and the Catholic Church. There were several general strikes and boycotts. Finally Somoza's soldiers attacked peaceful rallies in front of the cathedral, slaughtering people from rooftops. Then even the moderates agreed with the Sandinistas about the need for an armed rebellion. (Unfortunately there were no anti-statist revolutionaries.) A similar story can be told about El Salvador, where the death squads destroyed the non-violent struggle.

In Poland in 1980, the leaders of Solidarity carried out a deliberately non-violent struggle. They did not want to give the Russians any excuse for a military invasion. So they were helpless when the Communist Party declared martial law and used the army to crush the workers' movement.

Pacifists sometimes try to prove that non-violence could work against a ruthless state. They give the example of some unarmed struggles in the Scandinavian countries against the Nazi invaders in World War II. These were all relatively minor incidents, in countries which were peripheral to the world war, where the Nazis were trying to win over part of the population as "fellow Aryans." A history of the war concludes, "...Moral resistance of this kind was possible only in countries where the Germans were, at least comparatively, lenient." (P. Calvocoressi and G. Wint, *Total War*, Penguin Books, 1971; p. 270.) Neither Gandhi nor King would have lasted a day under the Nazis.

In summary: non-violence has never worked by itself. Where non-violence has been successful, the movement has used coercion and the (at least implicit) threat of violence. Whenever it has been faced with an opponent prepared to use unlimited force, non-violent methods have always been defeated.

Does violence work?

In reply, pacifists argure that it is violence that does not work. Violence does not work, they say, to promote greater freedom, democracy, socialism, or peace. Wars are followed by new wars. Violent revolutions, they say, always end up in dictatorships.

These arguments are somewhat true, but I would argue that they are not the whole truth. I doubt that there are such rigid laws of history that revolutions or wars *must always* produce any one result, good or bad.

The early revolutions of England, the U.S. and France smashed the old feudal monarchies. They cleared the ground for the growth of capitalist democracy, which provides the greatest amount of freedom yet offered by class-dominated society. The realization of this (relative) freedom was not automatic; it required further struggles by the mass of working people. Yet the revolutions had been real advances.

The nationalist revolutions in the "Third World" (including China, Vietnam and Cuba) were effective in winning political independence, unifying their countries, and weakening world imperialism. It is true that they set up new oppressive states, but *gains may be limited and still be real*. To prove that gains are limited does not disprove that they are real.

For example, the Vietnamese really did defeat the U.S. This was a gain for oppressed people throughout the world.

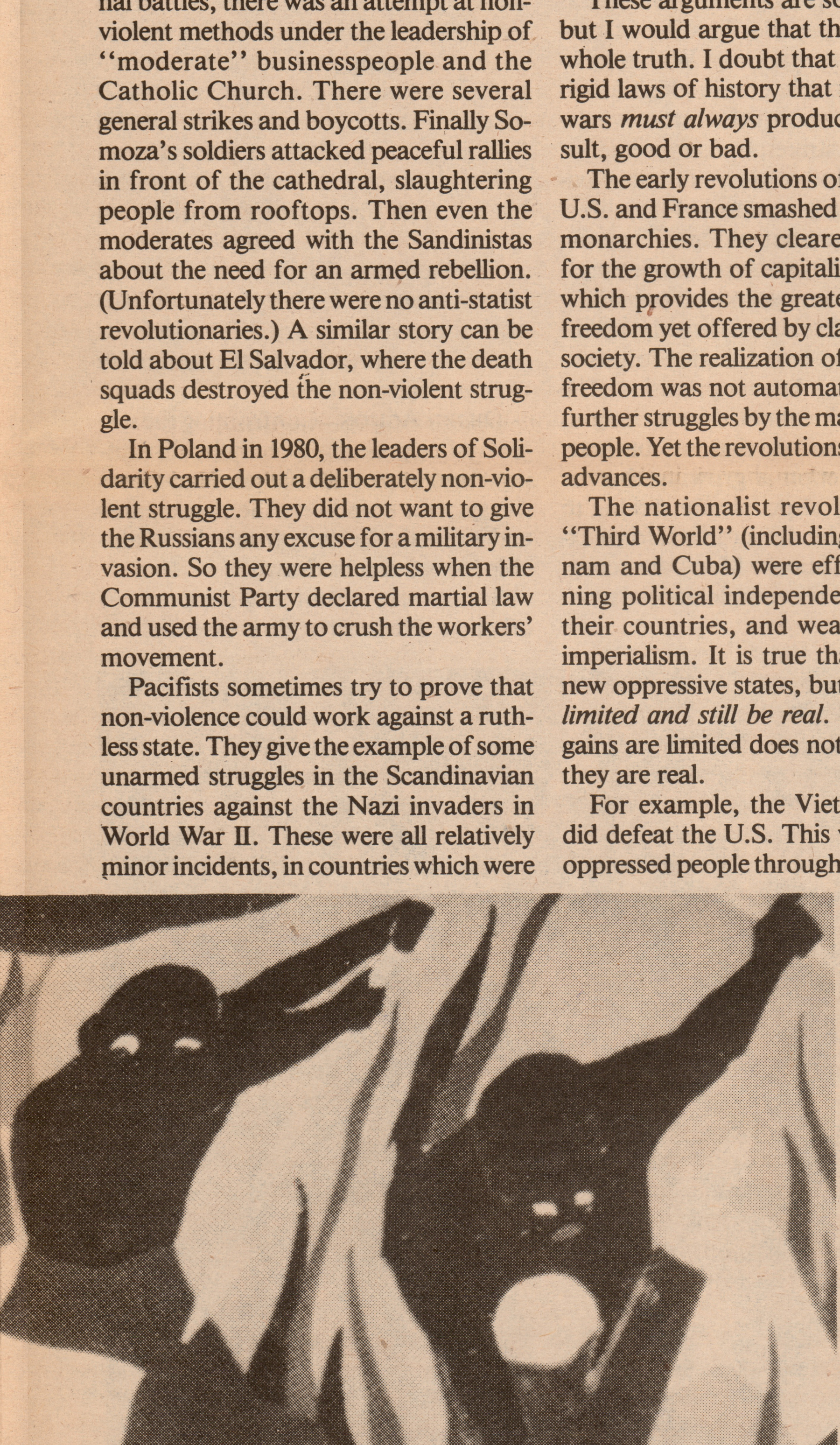
Filipinos cheered 'people's power' during 1986 revolt against Marcos.

Liberal and conservative U.S. politicians alike moan about "the Vietnam syndrome"—the opposition of the U.S. population to another major foreign war. Because the Vietnamese had been willing to war against U.S. imperialism, the U.S. could not invade Angola or Central America.

The Nazis were defeated in the only way they could have been, by an enormous organization of military force against them. Of course, a revolutionary anti-fascist war would have been fought in a different way than the military effort of the imperialist Allies. But the Nazis could only be defeated by some sort of war effort; nonviolence would not have worked against such a regime.

In short, despite many failures and defeats, *revolutions and wars have sometimes worked to expand freedom and limit oppression.*

In any case, while there is a problem of revolutions ending in oppression, nonviolence is not the solution. Nonviolent revolutions are as likely as violent revolutions to end in authoritarians states. The Iranian revolt, often cited by pacifists as an example of a nonviolent overthrow, replaced the shah with the dictator Khomeini. India itself, the model of a nonviolent revolution, is just another militarist state. It wages war with its neighbors, oppresses minority, nationalities, and holds down the workers for the capitalists.



Haitians murder whites during 1793 revolution. (From 'Toussaint L'Ouverture Series,' 1937-38, by Black U.S. artist Jacob Lawrence.)

Can revolution work?

A further pacifist claim is that revolutions cannot succeed these days because the military state is too strong. It has vast armies with high-tech weapons, not to mention nuclear bombs. Surely the day is gone when revolutions could win, they argue.

Actually revolutions have always been made from military weakness. The existing state has the best, most organized, and best armed personnel (the military and police). The rebels always begin less well organized and armed. They are not the state. Yet revolutions have succeeded. The U.S. colonists did defeat the British, the mightiest empire in the world at the time.

One type of revolution, as this example shows, is the war of national liberation. Again, this always begins from a position of military weakness. The foreigners or their puppets had already conquered the country, setting up the colonial state. The nationalist rebels begin from a previous defeat. Yet national liberation wars have been won.

Revolutionary wars can win because they do not rely solely on violence. Revolutions always use psychological/political methods along with armed force. They always seek to win over the ranks of the enemy's armies and and civilians. They try to split the enemy's forces. And they use a political appeal to inspire their own people to fight and sacrifice. More than any other sort of non-pacifist, revolutionaries believe in combining non-violent (political) and armed methods.

> *‘Revolutionary wars can win because they do not rely solely on violence.’*

That this can be done successfully is not a matter of theory but of history. In recent years the little country of Vietnam directly confronted the most powerful and brutal empire the world has ever known, the U.S., which was armed even with nuclear bombs. At great cost to themselves—and in spite of an authoritarian leadership—the Vietnamese won.

To give another current example, the Afghan people have resisted the armed might of the world's second most powerful empire. While that war is not over, it is possible that the Afghans have beaten the Russian army (which also posses-ses the nuclear bomb). Certainly they have done better than the Polish workers, whose leaders were committed to nonviolence.

Why are there wars and revolutions?

Make no mistake, libertarian socialists should not "want" revolutionary

(Continued on page 12)

Problems With Pacifism

By WAYNE PRICE

MANY anti-authoritarians are often attracted to non-violent pacifism. There are good reasons for this, yet I think they are making a mistake. I want to explore the relationship between pacifism and libertarian socialism — and to make the argument for a non-pacifist, revolutionary position.

Reasons for pacifism

Many people turn toward pacifism in revulsion against the U.S.–Soviet Union conflict. These are two ruthless empires, misusing the names of democracy and socialism. Millions of working people throughout the world curse the name of one or both of these bloodstained states. Pacifism can be seen as a way of rejecting both sides. By advocating unilateral disarmament and nonviolence, pacifists oppose the war-making of both sides. (In fact most mainstream pacifist organizations get involved in advocating more "moderate" types of military spending or in making proposals for "arms control" which would only continue the arms race — but we are discussing the pacifism of anti-authoritarians, not of statist reformists.)

Both the U.S. and the USSR have built up vast supplies of nuclear bombs. These devices are so much more destructive than anything ever built before that it is questionable whether a nuclear exchange can reasonably be called "war." There is a real possibility that the use of such "weapons" could destroy all human life — making "victory" and "defeat" meaningless.

Like many non-pacifists, I have come to reject completely any use of nuclear "weapons" and nuclear "war," under any conditions. In this I agree with the pacifists and disagree with the liberals or "Communists" who support nuclear arms for "their" side of the so-called Cold War. I also disagree with the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists who think that nuclear bombs would be okay in the hands of a socialist community ("workers' state"). They think it would be okay if the *workers* threatened to exterminate all humanity.

(But unlike the pacifists, I renounce nuclear arms precisely because they are *unlike* weapons — beyond the limits of war. If intruders break into our apartment, we would not "defend" our family by blowing up the apartment building — killing the intruders, our family, and the neighbors — but we *might* shoot the intruders. Similarly I can reject nuclear "war" while believing in the usefulness of some forms of armed resistance.)

Many pacifists have been disillusioned with the results of "revolutionary violence." Within recent years we have seen revolutions result in oppressive dictatorships. This can be attested by the Vietnamese and Cuban "boat people" or the Kampuchean refugees from Pol Pot's genocide. Within the imperialist countries, advocates of "armed struggle" have often ended by using indiscrimate terror, blowing up more workers than bosses.

Advocates of "revolutionary warfare" have mostly been supporters of the Russian imperialist side of the Cold War, supporters of nuclear weapons (if in the hands of a "workers' state"), supporters of revolutionary dictatorships, and/or users of indiscriminate terrorism. It is not surprising that some idealists should be disgusted with such "revolutionary violence."

I too reject both U.S. and Russian imperialism, nuclear arms, revolutionary dictatorships, and the strategy of terrorism. So far I agree with much of the radical pacifist position. Yet I think that pacifism is mistaken and will argue for an alternate program.

What we are and are not disagreeing about

In the discussion between pacifist and non-pacifist libertarian socialists, we should be clear what our disagreements are and are not about. We do not disagree about the *goal* of a peaceful world without armies or arms, national borders or national states. Our disagreement is about the means to reach that goal.

In that regard, our disagreement is not that some people are for peace and nonviolence, while others are for war and violence. The difference is that pacifists are *always* against *all* wars. Non-pacifists believe that *some* wars are justifiable. Some pacifists oppose all violence. Others may accept individual self-defense. But all oppose mass violence under any conditions. Pacifists oppose wars of aggression and wars of defense, wars to maintain oppression and wars to overthrow oppression (revolutions). As already mentioned, pacifists do not distinguish between the "war" of nuclear genocide and popular guerrilla resistance.

On the other hand, non-pacifists are sometimes for being non-violent and sometimes for using violence, sometimes for talking and sometimes for shooting. We are simply *not* pacifists. This does not make us pro-war. I believe that all wars are bad, but some wars are necessary. This is the issue we disagree about.

Does non-violence work?

Pacifists deny that wars are ever necessary. They use the examples of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s leadership of the Civil Rights struggle and Mohandas Gandhi's leadership of the Indian independence struggle. These prove, they say, that a non-violent strategy can win against violent resistance by the oppressors. Since non-violence works, the pacifists conclude, wars are never justified.

We draw different conclusions. For one thing, *there has never been a successful non-violent campaign which limited itself to persuading the oppressor through moral influence alone.* For example, M.L. King, Jr. led mass strikes and boycotts. The purpose of these tactics was to put pressure on the segregationists. It was to *force* them into doing what they hated to do — to *coerce* them. The same is true of non-violent anti-war demonstrators when they sit in the way of trains going into military plants or bases. If they can carry it off, they will shut down the place by blockading it — which is the use of coercion. However limited, this is still force.

In fact most of King's successful non-violent demonstrations succeeded through the use of violence. The demonstrators under his leadership would finally get the federal government to back them up with troops or police. Or they would force the government to pass a civil rights law — and all laws are backed by armed police power (or they are worthless). Because we are mesmerized by the myth of the state, most people don't think of the passage of a law as an act of violence, but it is — if the law is meant to be enforced.

Similarly Gandhi's victory depended on the Japanese army severely weakening British military power — and on the fact that if the non-violent campaign failed, everyone knew there would a be violent struggle against the British (this is obvious in the movie *Gandhi*, which shows the people repeatedly breaking into violence).

Pacifists also claim the Iranian overthrow of the shah and the Filipino overthrow of Marcos as examples of non-violent "revolutions." It is true that in both cases brutal tyrants were overthrown with almost no violence. It is also true that in neither case did the dictator try to mow down the people with all-out repression. One reason they did not try this was their fear of revolutionary violence. In both cases large sections of the military forces had gone into opposition to the regimes, keeping their arms (and there were also organized guerrilla forces — the mujahedeen and the New People's Army). In short, while the "revolutions" were relatively non-violent, there were clear threats of violence in the background. And everyone knew it.

In sum, even the most successful "non-violent" campaigns used coercion and force (in the forms of strikes, boycotts, non-cooperation, etc.) and even violence, in the background.

However, not every non-violent campaign has been successful. Most have not. There has been a pattern to the failures of non-violence: *Non-violence has always failed when faced with a ruthless opponent.*

In India, the British had a history of ruthless bloodiness, but by the end of World War II they were simply too weak to hold onto India. After two world wars, British imperialism could not maintain its empire. The new leaders of Western imperialism, the U.S. rules, would not support the British. So they had to cut their losses and make a deal with the Indian nationalists. Had Gandhi tried his tactics at the height of the British empire (as described by Kipling), his movement would have been drowned in blood.

Similarly, the Southern segregationists were very violent toward the Civil Rights movement. However, they were ultimately overruled by the national capitalists and their national government. After World War II most of the ruling class did not care that much for the Jim Crow segregation laws of the South. To them, these were an embar-

Letter from Polish Anarchists

Translation thanks to Chris Pawlac.

Greetings from Poland!

We are writing this letter as Polish anarchists—participants in the Ruch Społeczeństwa Alternatywnego (RSA—Movement of Alternative Society). We have been working in an organized form since June 1983; since September '83 we've been publishing our own magazine—illegal of course, just like the whole movement.

Our anarchism comes not from the reading of classics but from an analysis of the present situation in Poland. Everything in our country belongs to the State—the means of production, communication and repression are monopolized by a one-party (communist) government. The only exceptions to this rule are agriculture (70% private) and the Catholic Church with its own organization and press. Totalitarian rule gives birth to a totalitarian opposition: fanatically anti-communist (that's why it's so admiring of capitalism and the Western world), nationalistic, dependent on the Church, intolerant of other people and ideas. And just like the government, it uses censorship and calls all those that do not agree with its ideas "non-patriotic." The only thing that makes them different is that the opposition lacks a political police.

But there are worse things. The main problem of the opposition is its stagnation and paralyzing of the street demonstrations so disliked by Walesa and the Church. Organizers of such demonstrations are condemned by them as... provocateurs and police agents. Both the Church and the opposition prefer to wait for the good will of the government or for pressure from the Western countries, while being content with a role of mediator between government and society (most of all the Catholic Church, never prospering so well as after December 13, 1981).

Fortunately, there is a change lately, as more people ("Solidarność" activists included) are turning their backs to the Church and the opposition leaders. There is no acceptance of passive opposition while living conditions are worsening drastically. This offers an opportunity for radical groups that do not wait for an exchange of communism into capitalism, but want to negate the system as such. This orientation is popular mainly among young people, especially counterculture youth, who do not want to go into the army (mandatory in our country), breathe poisoned air or learn and work in places that look like prisons. Our movement is among them. We think that it's more important to build an alternative society right now than to wait until communists give up power.

The creation of an alternative society seems easiest in the area of culture, since this doesn't need much of material means and can well exist in the underground. However, it's hard to break down old schemes from a Pole who is Catholic, fights for *Polish* police, *Polish* factory owners and for Catholic mass on the radio instead of communist agitprop. It's easily seen in the so-called "independent culture"—artists opposed to the government are doing the same things as ever, but this time for a different sponsor. Our movement is supporting all creative efforts that are independent from the government, the Church and the opposition. By not taking money for this we are avoiding commercialization (as happened to rock music). We support literature, graphic arts, theater, cabaret, happenings and amateur films. During the summer we organize meetings where everybody can express and exchange his creative ideas. Exchange of ideas and independent information is also achieved by magazines, fliers, posters, murals and, most of all, by open debate clubs. All this helps in the development of consciousness, in the search for one's own way of life. We try to show that people divided by particular ideas may unite in mutual interest and reach common goals—freedom, peace and justice.

FREEDOM is the lack of limitations—the only limit of my freedom is the freedom of another human. Freedom is conscious activity—passive, not-conscious man will be a slave in every system. In Poland, freedom also means independence—for the last few hundred years Germany and Russia have tried to suppress the creation of any system in Poland based on democracy, liberalism and tolerance. Such dependence causes a lack of faith in values and the admiration of capitalist or totalitarian models.

PEACE, as we understand it, is the elimination of force in relations between nations and between people in society. However, we cannot stand still while the government persecutes people. We have the right to self-defense and we are ready for violence (especially in case of an open fight for independence against the USSR).

JUSTICE, we think, comes from working for oneself, comes from ownership of the means of production by the one who produces. That's why we are supporting directions of "Samorzadna Rzeczpospolita" (Self-governing Republic) from the 1981 meeting of "Solidarność" (the opposition seems to be forgetting about these directions). Also, we support the takeover of factories by workers' self-government by way of a general strike.

To achieve these goals we're ready to cooperate with anyone (regardless of his opinions and ideas) who will recognize our right to be different and live the way we want to live.

There are examples of such cooperation with other groups, consisting mainly of young people: anti-government street demonstrations. Three of the biggest were: May 1, 1985—against price rises; October 13, 1985—against mock elections to the Sejm; and June 12, 1987—during the Pope's visit to Gdańsk.

Finally, there is the basic goal for today—to integrate people from the counterculture with those from the political opposition. Mutual distrust by artists of "dirty politicians" and by oppositionists of "madmen and nihilists" narrows the possibilities of our action. We are trying to break this barrier through semi-political, semi-artistic street actions, like those that recently happened in Wroclaw.

This is about us. We would like to know what's happening in your country: what new actions have you taken and what new ideas, if any, have appeared (classics of anarchism are pretty available in Poland, but there is nothing of newer works)? We would like to get a wider scope on the problems in your society. We would like to hear from you about new economic, political and cultural events. The integrity of mass media information, yours or ours, is very doubtful in this case. Also, we would appreciate your help in making contacts with other anarchist groups in the States and in other countries.

RSA

Please write letters as private persons to private persons. Otherwise all letters are checked by the Polish police.

The exact date of this letter is unknown, but it is within the last year. Also unknown is whether the RSA as such still functions or whether they have all become members of Freedom and Peace, especially in Gdańsk, where this letter comes from. To write to anarchists active in Freedom and Peace write to Wojciech Jankowski, 81–831 Sopot, ul. Swierczewskiego 10/2, Poland or Marek Krukowski, 50–045 Wroclaw, Plac PKWN 14/9, Poland. If you want to write to the specific individuals who wrote this letter, send your letter and a stamped envelope to On Gogol Boulevard, 151 First Ave. #62, New York, NY 10003. In general it is okay to send radical and anarchist stuff to Poland.

400 March to 'Save the Great Lakes'

By JON MILLER

OVER 400 people marched May 14 in Detroit to protest the continuing construction of what is supposed to be the world's largest municipal trash incinerator. Marchers carried signs reading "Nuclear *or* garbage power kills!" "Reduce, Reuse, Recycle," and "Burn politicians, not garbage!" The march paused briefly in front of the giant construction project, then proceeded to the campus of Wayne State University nearby for an outdoor rally. The spirited rally included speakers like environmentalist Dr. Paul Connet, and a representative from the Walpole Island reservation which lies in the downwind area from the incinerator, as well as music and poetry.

The march occurred as part of a weekend of activities, a regional "Mobilization To Save the Great Lakes," sponsored by the Detroit-based environmental group, the Evergreen Alliance. Friday and Sunday lectures and workshops focused on a range of topics from ecofeminism to nuclear power, from the destruction of the Great Lakes bioregion to technology and ecology. The culmination of the education/action weekend was a demonstration and civil disobedience action Monday morning at the incinerator's main entrance. Nineteen people linked arms, sat down, and blocked the roadway leading into the incinerator while cops tried to figure out what to do. Eventually the 19 were arrested, arraigned, and released.

Detroit's trash incinerator is located immediately adjacent to Detroit's meatpacking plants, and only five blocks away from the heart of Detroit's Cultural Center. With its projected 4,000 ton per day capacity, the incinerator was an appropriate focus for the weekend's actions. Under construction by Resource Recovery, Inc. (the same techno-whizzes who engineered the near meltdown of the Fermi I nuclear reactor near Detroit just a few years ago, and are now building incinerators for the South African apartheid regime), the half-billion dollar project is billed as the solution to Detroit's rapidly dwindling trash landfill space. In fact, production of a thousand such incinerators across the country is seen as a nationwide solution.

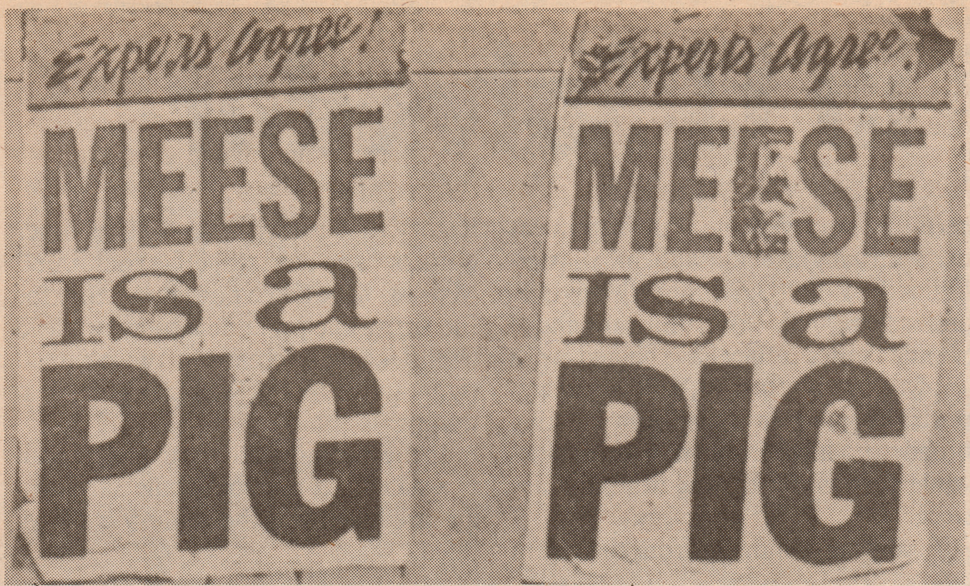
But municipal incineration will create a host of even more difficult environmental problems than the problem of shrinking landfill space. Not the least of these is the fact that such incinerators, by burning paper and plastic together, produce dioxins and furans in both the stack emissions and the ash. These are highly toxic substances which suppress the functioning of the human immune system, thereby facilitating the development of cancers. So the ash will be contaminated and should be treated as *toxic* waste.

At his lecture during the Mobilization weekend, Dr. Connet pointed out that the problem of disposal of the ash is the "Achilles heel" of incinerators. Ash is what will cause the current infatuation with incineration to go the way of nuclear power as the "cure-all." For instance, in February of this year a bargeload of dioxin-contaminated ash from one of Philadelphia's incinerators was turned away from several Caribbean countries before finally dumping the ash on the beaches of Haiti.

Detroit's incinerator is scheduled to begin operational testing in May of 1989. As the Evergreen Alliance sat down to discuss summer and fall activities, Detroit Mayor Coleman Young announced plans to begin work on a second municipal incinerator to handle sewage treatment sludge and industrial waste. And the first public hearings have already occurred to allocate an abandoned stretch of Detroit's riverfront property to construction of an incinerator for toxic liquid waste.

The movement against incinerators—as well as the wholesale destruction of the environment, waste-creating material consumption, and the capitalist system which breeds these—is likely to grow even more rapidly as these facilities become operational. The May Mobilization to Save the Great Lakes was a good step in broadening awareness of the serious dangers posed by technological quick-fixes like trash incineration, and in concretizing the necessary alternatives of recycling and reducing wasteful consumption. □

Cops move in to arrest trash plant protesters.



IN Washington, D.C., four people have been arrested, four ticketed and one questioned by both the FBI and the Secret Service over the posters pictured above. The posters were produced by people from the city's punk rock scene.

On May 16, after several nights cruising around Washington and its northern and western suburbs putting up posters, "we got pretty relaxed," admitted one person, who also plays guitar. Officer Glenn Sandford of Arlington, Virginia, initially simply made four perpetrators caught pasting at a Metro station take down the posters, but later served them summonses for posting on county property. Four people were ticketed at Seventh and D Streets, SW, in D.C. itself. And when, at 5:00 a.m., Mark Anderson walked into a parking lot in Adams Morgan to recover a bucket of wheat paste and rollers dropped there in haste at the approach of a police car several hours before, he was followed, stopped by the Secret Service and, after they found posters in his car, held for an hour while five Secret Service cars came to the scene. A week later, Anderson was called by the FBI.

Meanwhile, in New York City, various cases stemming from the Sanitation Department's new penchant for issuing fines for postering on lampposts and traffic light control boxes continue. On June 15, Bob Z, a well known producer of non-profit rock shows and poetry readings and publisher of *Bad Newz*, who has been hit with $22,000 in fines, organized a picket line at the Sanitation Department offices. Coordination and cooperation among victims of the anti-poster crusade is growing, and there are some indications the city is looking for a way to back off. For more information write Stop Prosecuting Grass-Roots Activists, 125 E. 23rd St. #300, New York NY 10012.

—WF

For Free Emigration!

THE governments of Israel and Rumania have begun cooperating in an attempt to limit free emigration of Soviet Jews, David Remnick recently reported in the *Washington Post*. Starting in early April, the Israeli government changed the wording of the formal invitations it sends to each Jew who wants to leave the Soviet Union. This invitation is needed to obtain an exit visa from the Soviet authorities. The new invitations stipulate that the invitees must go to Israel via Bucharest. Once in Bucharest, Rumanian authorities do not permit Soviet Jewish emigres to go anywhere but Israel.

Up till now, nearly all Soviet Jews leaving their country went to Vienna, Austria. Since 1973, Austrian authorities have permitted the emigres to then apply to the country of their choice. In 1987, 75% of them applied to and were accepted by a country other than Israel. From the beginning of 1988 to April 1, 2,325 Jews left the Soviet Union based on invitations from Israel, but only 457 of them went there. Many emigrate to the United States, particularly to New York City.

Israeli officials have a long history of being concerned about this, made more acute in recent years because more Jews have been emigrating from Israel than immigrating to it. They have periodically called for direct flights from Moscow to Tel Aviv to limit the options available to Soviet Jews.

The right to apply to the country of their choice was won for Soviet Jewish emigres in 1973 by a group of Arab commandos. They seized hostages on a train in Austria carrying Soviet Jewish emigrants, and agreed to release them in return for a promise from Austria that Jews arriving from the USSR would be free to choose their own destination.

— WF

African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU).

The liberation movement in South Africa—union, community, youth—has suffered from divisions between forces aligned with the UDF/ANC, espousing "non-racialism" and the "Freedom Charter," on the one hand, and those groupings espousing "Black Consciousness" or "exclusivity" as a political perspective, on the other. A lack of unity, infighting, and occasional sectarian violence between these trends has contributed to political confusion and demoralization.

COSATU is the larger of the two federations, with 691,000 paid-up members. It has been aligned with the UDF/ANC. NACTU, with 150,000 paid-up members, is in the Black Consciousness camp, with a militant wing influenced by the Azanian People Organization (AZAPO).

Until this May the dominant position in COSATU has been not to work with any forces not embracing "non-racialism" and it was increasingly prone to using support of the UDF/ANC associated "Freedom Charter" as a litmus test of political legitimacy. This position was changed at a special 1,500 delegate union congress. COSATU is now trying to create a broader unity and voted May 15 to organize a conference to initiate this. The joint COSATU/NACTU strike action was part of this. The ANC itself met with representatives of NACTU in Zimbabwe. For a fuller report on this development readers should check out a reprint from *Southscan* in the June 1 *Guardian* (New York).☐

South Africa Boycott Enforced in Motown

By JON MILLER

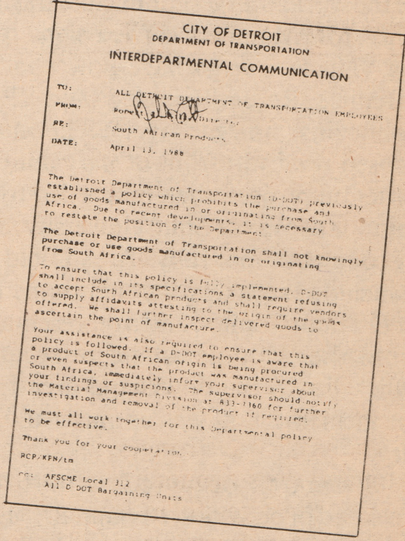
ON April 13, Detroit Department of Transportation (D-DOT) Director, Robert Polk, issued a policy memorandum to all D-DOT employees regarding use of products from South Africa. In it Mr. Polk indicates that D-DOT "shall not knowingly purchase or use goods manufactured in or originating from South Africa." He indicates that delivered goods will be inspected to determine the point of manufacture. If South African goods are discovered, they will be returned to the distributor. Finally, it requests the assistance of D-DOT employees in policing this arrangement.

This statement of D-DOT policy represents the culmination of over 2 1/2 years of struggle by AFSCME Local 312 to expose the use of South African parts on City of Detroit buses. In the summer of 1985 D-DOT employees found "Made in South Africa" stickers on many pieces of replacement glass for the coaches. They immediately brought this to the attention of D-DOT managers, but were ignored. During the remainder of 1985, and throughout '86 and '87, AFSCME 312 increasingly publicized this use of South African glass by D-DOT.

In late 1987 the Michigan Coalition for Human Rights' South Africa committee began pushing the Detroit City Council to intervene with D-DOT. Mr. Polk twice declined requests to appear before the Council, while South African glass continued to be installed in city coaches. Finally, in late March of 1988, the City Council voted to refuse to approve any further appropriations for D-DOT until Polk appeared before the Council to resolve the issue of use of South African goods.

As a result of all this, in early April, after having the last pieces of South African glass removed from D-DOT garages, Mr. Polk met with representatives of Local 312 to work out an arrangement to prevent use of South African goods in D-DOT coaches.

This represents a small but significant victory against the system of apartheid and its supporters, a victory for the members of Local 312 and for our sisters and brothers in South Africa.☐



CITY OF DETROIT
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION
INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMUNICATION

TO: ALL DETROIT DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION EMPLOYEES
FROM: Robert [illegible] Director
RE: South African Products
DATE: April 13, 1988

The Detroit Department of Transportation (D-DOT) previously established a policy which prohibits the purchase and use of goods manufactured in or originating from South Africa. Due to recent developments, it is necessary to restate the position of the Department.

The Detroit Department of Transportation shall not knowingly purchase or use goods manufactured in or originating from South Africa.

To ensure that this policy is fully implemented, D-DOT shall include in its specifications a statement refusing to accept South African products and shall require vendors to supply affidavits attesting to the origin of the goods offered. We shall further inspect delivered goods to ascertain the point of manufacture.

Your assistance is also required to ensure that this policy is followed. If a D-DOT employee is aware that a product of South African origin is being procured or even suspects that the product was manufactured in South Africa, immediately inform your supervisor about your findings or suspicions. The supervisor should notify the Material Management Division at 833-1360 for further investigation and removal of the product if required.

We must all work together for this Departmental policy to be effective.

Thank you for your cooperation.

RCP/KFN/tm

cc: AFSCME Local 312
All D-DOT Bargaining Units

This memo marked workers' victory in two-year fight against use of South African glass in Detroit buses.

FREE MOSES MAYEKISO
HOTEL

Detroit anti-apartheid forces, including AFSCME Local 312, picketed recent visit by South African diplomats.

Rightists Stronger in El Salvador

By RON TABER

AFTER seven years of civil war and 70,000 people killed, the political situation in El Salvador is taking a dangerous turn.

Most ominously, the right-wing forces, officially centered around the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA), but actually based on assassination squads and army officers, are on the ascendant. In municipal and legislative voting on March 20, ARENA won 30 seats out of a total of 60 in the National Assembly, one seat short of a majority. (And ARENA claims that it was deprived of that one seat by election fraud carried out by representatives of opposing parties who work for the Central Election Council.)

Also in the elections, the conservative Party of National Conciliation (PCN) won seven seats, thus giving the combined rightist forces a majority in the Assembly.

As significant as the election results, and perhaps more so, political assassinations, most of them carried out by ARENA-associated hit squads, are on the rise. While ARENA appears to be split between extreme and (only!) moderately right-wing factions, and it is still not clear whether ARENA and the PCN will be able to cooperate in the Assembly, the improvement in the fortunes of the Salvadorean right wing is obvious.

Reflecting the rise of the right has been the decline of the center forces organized around the Christian Democratic Party, led by José Napoleón Duarte, which won control of the government in elections four years ago. In the March 20 elections, the Christian Democrats won only 23 seats, losing 10 of their previous seats.

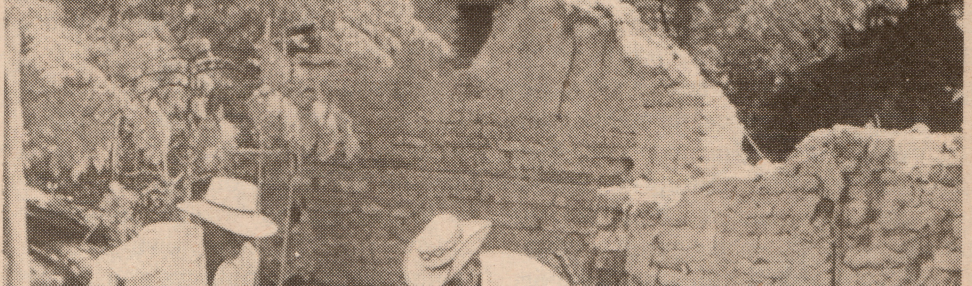
The Christian Democrats are also split into factions, while Duarte, the key leader of the party, has cancer and will probably die within the year. Having promised to carry out progressive political and economic reforms when it was elected, it is now seen, even among its supporters, to be ineffective, if not corrupt. Thus, many of the party's supporters either didn't vote, voted for other parties or nullified their vote in one way or another as a protest. (Voting is compulsory in El Salvador.)

The "ineffectiveness" of the Christian Democratic Party, or any party that promises to carry out reforms in a country like El Salvador, is not surprising. Overwhelming power is in the hands of a tiny ruling class made up primarily of large landowners and their relatives among high army officers, who are fanatically committed to their power and privileges.

It is not clear whether the left-wing forces around the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front have gained as a result of the decline of the Christian Democrats. The guerrilla forces have certainly survived the Salvadoran army's onslaught against them, masterminded by 100 U.S. military advisers and a large CIA team. But how much popular support they have gained is not known. In an effort to build such support, the guerrillas have been creating broader political fronts in various cities while continuing to wage the military struggle.

In any case, judging from the recent history of Nicaragua, as well as other countries in which self-proclaimed Marxists have taken power, a victory for the left, while preferable, may not lead to a decisive increase in the political rights and economic well-being of Salvadorans.

In the meantime, the struggle, basically a stalemate, goes on, while Salvadorans are killed and the country is devastated.☐



Salvadorans clear rubble to rebuild war-torn village.

Black Workers Wage 3-Day Strike in S.A.

By MIKE EVERETT

March against mass detentions by Witwatersrand University students, June 4.

FOR THREE days, June 6 through 8, major sections of the South African working class conducted the largest strike in that country's history.

Different sources estimate that two to three million workers struck. All parties agreed the "stay away" was both effective and a clear show of support for both the unions and the broader liberation movement.

The strike was strongest in Johannesburg and the surrounding industrial region, 81% successful in Joburg itself on the initial day. It was also solid in the automobile center, Port Elizabeth, where 70% of the workers struck, and in Durban, where absenteeism was 67%.

Despite the support of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), the country's largest union, the strike did not take hold in most mining districts. NUM officials said they were denied access to the workers' living compounds. Other factors seemed to be the mine workers' hesitancy to defy court injunctions obtained by some of the mining firms, which threatened dismissals for participating in the strike, and a past mineworker tendency to sit out political strikes.

Other areas of lower participation were the less industrially concentrated regions of Cape Province and those parts of Natal under the repressive grip of Chief Buthelezi's fiercely collaborationist and pro-capitalist Inkatha movement.

The three days of the strike were relatively non-confrontational: 10 were killed, 23 wounded and 21 arrested. Most fatalities occurred in areas where Inkatha has a presence.

The three-day strike was carried out to protest:

1) The two-year-long State of Emergency, under which over 30,000 activists have been detained;

2) The February 24 restrictions on the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other anti-apartheid organizations; and

3) A-soon-to-be enacted bill amending the Labor Relations Act. This legislation would make it illegal to engage in sympathy strikes, would restrict economic strike activity in numerous ways and would make unions financially liable in such situations. At present the heaviest restrictions are on union political activity. This bill would bring repressive measures more fully into the area of economic disputes and, as a result, it is supported by those capitalists who have criticized apartheid.

The strike was successful as a show of worker dissatisfaction and of solidarity between union and liberation forces. However, it had little impact in challenging the racist state. The regime felt it unwise to physically attack this mighty demonstration. Its Minister of Manpower, du Plessis, offered to dicker with the unions on the terms of the Labor Relations Act amendment, but it was not a serious offer to negotiate. On Thursday, Prime Minister P.W. Botha announced the extension of the State of Emergency for a third year.

The employers' attitudes towards the unions are hardening. They generally sat back during the strike, as the government did. But even the supposedly "liberal anti-apartheid" capitalists are expressing their anger at political strikes that affect their profits, at aggressive union economic demands and tactics, and at what they see as the union movement's dangerous playing with the idea of socialism of any sort. No section of the capitalists can be seen as a serious anti-apartheid force: they are fundamentally hostile to and fearful of the aspirations and needs of the Azanian masses.

There are two things to note about the strike. First, as has been the case for the past year, the union movement (and hence workers in leadership positions) is playing an increasingly central role in the all-round struggle for freedom in South Africa.

Secondly, this stay away call was *jointly* issued by the Congress of South

On June 16, 1976, South African police fired on 20,000 Black youth in Soweto, the sprawling Black township southwest of Johannesburg, killing at least three and wounding many others. The young people, many only 13 years old, were protesting the government's decision to have all instruction in the secondary schools (including math and science!) carried out in Afrikaans, the language of the Afrikaner oppressors, 10 percent of the population.

In the three days that followed, the youth of Soweto battled South African cops with bricks, bottles, knives and torches, overturning buses and trains, burning government buildings and killing two government figures. Not long after the government had suppressed the uprising through a ferocious use of force, Black youths in townships near Pretoria, the country's administrative capital, and elsewhere rose up. By the time this second wave of revolt was crushed, over 600 people, all but two Black, had been killed and at least 1,500 injured. But this uprising began a whole era of struggle for Black liberation against the fascist apartheid system, a struggle that is still going on.

Today, June 16 is (unofficially) celebrated as South African Youth Day, with many Black workers taking off from work.

Below we reprint a poem written in 1983 on the anniversary of the Soweto uprising by a Black South African woman. The poem, originally much longer, was reconstructed from memory.

Soweto June 16

— Scarlett Ibrahim

No jubilation
In the location
A breathless hush
In the rush
June 16, was a terrible scene

Cop vans screeching
Women screaming
Batons beating
Bodies bleeding
Babies crying
People dying

Bullets flying
White pigs smiling
Funeral pyre
Burning tyres
No one was scared
Hate was shared

Black fists raised
God's to be praised
Prance and chant
Shout and dance . . . Amandla to AZANIA

POLICE
WARN ON
PROTEST

Bus terminals in Johannesburg were deserted as workers stayed home.

LESBIAN & GAY PRIDE DAY 1988

'We're Tired of Being Shushed Up'

L.A. Lavender Left

The following talk was given by Franz Martin at a forum sponsored by Lavender Left, a radical lesbian and gay liberation organization, June 10 in Los Angeles.

I WAS asked to talk about our name, why we call ourselves what we do, and what it means to us. Now the "Lavender," I think, is self-explanatory, so let me focus on the "Left." Why did we choose to use this word? Is it the right one for us? I think so.

We are leftists because we think this society is rotten to the core, not just blemished here and there. We are leftists because we believe this society (and every other one existing today) was established as, and was nurtured by, a system of brutal competition, hatred and misery for the great majority of people. We are leftists because we believe the solution to all this requires radical changes—a rebuilding, from the bottom up, not simply a few cosmetic reforms.

We are often asked why we don't call ourselves something less provocative, like "progressives" or "activists." Well, I suppose our ideas are progressive, in a dictionary sense. But the word doesn't quite capture what we stand for. Jesse Jackson, for example, is a progressive Democrat, while we think the Democratic Party itself is part of the problem. In my opinion, Jackson himself is also part of the problem, and this will become much more clear in the months ahead, as he lines his supporters up to quietly vote for Dukakis in November.

And activists? It's true, we are. But the word doesn't say enough. There are plenty of activists of all political stripes, of the right as well as the left. It describes what we do, not what we believe.

So, we are the Lavender *Left*. Unfortunately, the word "left" itself leaves a lot to be desired. The leftist movement internationally, beginning as long ago as Marx, Engels and Bakunin, has had a very weak, almost non-existent tradition of sexual liberation. What do I mean by sexual liberation? I mean the human need for free sexual expression and full control of our bodies. This is a central part of our program and of the way we understand the world.

Yet the orthodox left has had little or nothing to say about this. Even today, with only a few very small exceptions, the left movements and parties continue to denounce, ignore or patronize the struggles of lesbians, gay men and other sexually defined outlaw groups—groups such as transsexuals, S&M practioners and boy-lovers. We don't fit well into their hierarchical models.

If economics is primary, after all, sexual questions are at best secondary, maybe tertiary, maybe lower still. You've all heard the excuses: "People need to eat. They can live without sex," or "The stomach comes first." Maybe that's so, in a strictly physiological sense. But were we wrong all this time to think that the goal of a left political agenda was to raise the human race above the level of enslaved animal existence?

Here's another one: "Change occurs in stages," we are told. "First the really important issues—then yours." But we know better. Nobody's freedom was ever won by waiting quietly for "our turn at the table." Now our idea of political change is not a temper tantrum, and we are perfectly well aware that everything we want and need will not be achieved overnight. The fight against sexual oppression will be a long one, a life-long one, and even longer than any of our lives. But we can only hope to win if we begin *now*, not tomorrow, and only if we wage this fight on a completely equal footing with every other liberation struggle. There is no possible justification for putting aside issues of our lives and our deaths until some other more "orthodox" battles are won. Our message to the rest of the left must be, "It's all or nothing, folks. Either we go with you, or you don't go. There'll be no more back seats for us."

It doesn't require much investigation to see the depth to which the orthodox "left" has fallen. And the way the left uses its gods and myths (exactly as does the Right) to preserve its own existence against upstarts like ourselves. The Soviet Union, for example, considers homosexuality a crime and prevents any self-organization by gays or lesbians. Yet this is supposed to be the heartland and homeland of socialism?! Cuba locks up people who, after involuntary blood tests, show HIV positivity. Hundreds of Cubans are now prisoners in AIDS quarantine centers. And you thought Lyndon LaRouche thought of it first? No. This is "socialist" Cuba, also known affectionately among many leftists as "the first free territory of the Americas."

We are leftists. But that's not *our* left. And our goal is not to be a loyal opposition, pressuring these anti-gay authoritarians to "please reconsider and let us nice lesbians and gays in." The authoritarian left is authoritarian first and foremost. Its "leftism," its "socialism" is really a thin shell. It shares with the Right a philosophy which bestows all Knowledge and Truth (with a capital "T") on a select elite of historic leaders and their books, and of course, on their modern-day interpreters. This view of humanity is of a mass of ignorant creatures, who can only be led into the future by enlightened leaders—those who possess the Truth. Its vision is one of bigger and better states, more refined bureaucracies, and more clearly enforced rules of social behavior. This vision is a nightmare.

Our leftist vision is a different one. We are leftists because we passionately hate the present system and we are organizing to change it radically. The future we envision will be built by the people who live it. Its design doesn't exist in any book today and there is no model for it anywhere in the world. But we are convinced that it will have no need for the old crap—no states, no hierarchies of privilege, no weapons of global war, no bosses, no landlords, no cops, no sex police. It will operate with the participation of the population, or it will not operate at all. It will nurture and raise up children whose loyalties will not be to country, race, church or neighborhood, but only to the well-being of the Earth and all its people.

This is a difficult vision to hold. It's far away from anything we have ever experienced, and it may be impossible to achieve. But we are tired of being told our limits. We're tired of being shushed up so a future President Dukakis maybe, possibly, just might open a Gay/Lesbian Liaison Office in some dusty corner of the White House basement. We're tired of being told that gay and lesbian sexuality is excessive and that abstinence, or "moderation," is our only savior, that AIDS is somehow "what we deserved" for having had too much fun.

I work with Lavender Left because this organization speaks for me when it says: We will not be quiet and we will not be nice, and we will not stop being sexual. We will continue to create outrageous visions and we will fight to make them come true.□

What's Up With Brawley Case?

By TERRY WALSH

A few months ago I reported on a women's march in New York City in support of Tawana Brawley. Tawana is a 16-year-old woman who was abused in Wappingers Falls, New York, last November. She said that she was kidnapped and raped by six white men. Since her original statement, she has (on the advice of her lawyers) refused to say more or cooperate with efforts to prosecute anyone.

I felt good about the march, because it focused on fighting racist and sexist violence and supporting Tawana, not on support for the lawyers (Alton Maddox and C. Vernon Mason) and preachers (Rev. Al Sharpton) who are involved. Since then it's become even less clear what happened to Tawana, and more important to separate the fight against racism and sexism from support for the "advisers'" tactics.

More information has come out about Tawana, and the four days she was missing. A friend of hers told a similar story of abduction several weeks earlier; some of the clothes Brawley wore when she disappeared were found in an apartment her family had recently vacated; some people who live in that housing complex say they saw Brawley during those four days and claim to have seen Tawana crawl into the bag in which she was found. Meanwhile evidence of past conflict between Tawana and her mother and stepfather, some of it violent, has come out. Early in the case, a local cop refused to participate in the investigation claiming a conflict of interest. Nothing is very clear except that by November 28, Tawana Brawley was one very scared, very confused, abused young woman.

Al Sharpton continues to be the most vocal and visible person involved with the case. He's continued to advise the Brawley family not to cooperate with state investigations, and has made statements ranging from claiming that the rapists were connected to the IRA (yes, the Irish Republican Army!), to describing the drugs that Brawley was supposedly forced to drink. Sharpton claims to be protecting Brawley and exposing the state judicial system as racist.

It's generous to describe Sharpton as a man of divided loyalties. He's a known FBI informant. The December 12th Coalition (a coalition of New York Black groups which has organized several anti-racist actions) has called for Sharpton to be ostracized from the movement, citing his ties with the FBI, unreliability, and individualism. Mason and Maddox (whose reputations were greatly enhanced by their representation of the Howard Beach victims) remain tight with Sharpton.

What Mason and Maddox say about the racism of the court system is correct, but almost everything they are saying and doing about how to fight it is wrong. For example, they have said that they would cooperate if Rudolph Giuliani, the Manhattan district U.S. Attorney appointed by Meese and Reagan, were named prosecutor, but not with Richard Abrams, the New York State Attorney General appointed by Cuomo: this hardly seems like a dividing principle for the anti-racist movement. (Their comments about Abrams have been dosed with a fair amount of anti-Semitism, by the way.) On June 14, a former aide to Sharpton told the New York *Daily News* that he had left the case in May, after working on it for five months, because he had become convinced that it was "a pack of lies" and that Sharpton and Maddox, particularly, were more interested in personal glory and political power than anything else.

While Mason and Maddox have correctly been saying they don't expect justice from the courts, they have neither set up an alternative, such as a people's tribunal, nor used the courts as a platform. There is an underlying message here that you *can* trust the courts and the U.S. legal system if you have the right lawyers. Their advice for the movement: leave everything up to them—don't question, no one should say or do anything until they say so.

All of this seems to have little in common with ending the abuse and exploitation of Tawana Brawley. All of this has little in common with building the movement that is needed to fight against the very real racist and sexist violence that exists.

If, as now seems quite possible, the case turns out to have begun with a fib by a scared teenager that was then knowingly used by others for their own purposes, it will be a hurtful blow to the anti-racist struggle. Every time victims of racist and sexist assaults come forward, they will be taunted and dismissed with a reference to the Brawley case. Cuomo and Abrams, who defend and promote a racist system of laws, will have been made to look like honest, anti-racist fighters, and illusions in liberals and Democrats will be strengthened. Prominent Black leaders will have allowed themselves to look silly and tawdry, and in this society that will be seized on to discredit all Black community leaders—indeed all Black people.

For the movement to be strong, we need to talk together, question together and learn to trust each other, so we can act together. Mason, Maddox, and Sharpton say everything should be left up to the leadership. There's a problem with leaving everything up to lawyers, preachers, and politicians: you end up with lawyers, preachers, and politicians.□

Left to right: Rev. Al Sharpton, Alton Maddox, C. Vernon Mason.

Tawana Brawley in recent photo.

LETTERS

WRITE TO: GPO BOX 1288, NEW YORK, NY 10116

'I took off my button'

Dear Torch/La Antorcha,

I've been frustrated by my inarticulateness about the Jesse Jackson campaign. It seems very clear to me that Jesse Jackson is saying some reasonable things, speaking to some real issues, and is offering absolutely nothing in terms of a strategy for substantially improving the lives of Black people (or anyone else, for that matter).

The most that will come out of the Jackson campaign is that Michael Dukakis will be elected president; that John Glenn, instead of Sam Nunn, will be vice president; and that Jesse Jackson will be secretary of something-or-other. Will this make any difference in anybody's life? Yes, a little. Some social programs will be slightly improved. There will be a more receptive atmosphere for talk (and some actions) about fighting racism, building unions, about women's rights, etc.

So what's wrong with the Jackson campaign? It focuses the energy, the ambitions and the organizing ability of a small, but growing, social movement on the election. It makes the solutions appear simple: "Want to fight racism? Vote for Jesse! (What, he's not running?) Vote for Dukakis!" The questions we have to deal with are hard, the resources the movement has are precious, and people's pride and hope could be the basis for a better world. I find it painful to see these squandered by the elections. But, I haven't been able to talk coherently about this with many people. So I was slightly encouraged when I overheard the following discussion on the subway train:

"did you see Jesse on TV last night?"

"yes, and I took off my button."

"what?"

"all that shit about the important thing being getting rid of Reagan and Bush. Next week, he'll be kissing Dukakis on the cheek."

"but aren't you going to vote for him?"

"I was going to do that anyway. I've voted in every election for 19 years. We won the vote. Some people died. It hasn't helped much. But I mean to see that my grandbabies have the vote, too. But, you know Jesse didn't have to give up so easily—all that talk about a better world. I'll vote, but all I know is that I took off my button."

Terry Walsh
New York City

IN THIS ISSUE

JUNE 15–JULY 14, 1988 • VOLUME 15, NUMBER 5

1 Guns and drugs
2 What's up with Brawley case?
Letter: 'I took off my button'
3 Lesbian & Gay Pride Day 1988
4 Black workers wage 3-day strike in South Africa
Poem: 'Soweto, June 16'
5 South Africa boycott enforced in Motown
Rightists stronger in El Salvador
6 400 march to 'save the Great Lakes'
'Meese is a pig'
For free emigration!
7 Letter from Polish anarchists
8 Problems with pacifism
10-11 Draft statement by Back Room Anarchist Books: 'Social revolution is international'. . . Comment: 'Millions controlled by Moscow'

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Black Workers Wage 3-Day Strike in South Africa

SMASH APARTHEID!

See p. 4

Lesbian & Gay Pride

See p. 3

Letter from Polish Anarchists

See p. 7

Problems With Pacifism

See p. 8

SECCION EN ESPAÑOL

Guns and Drugs

By RON TABER

ON June 16, the *New York Times* reported that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has been investigating a scam in which Pentagon officials accepted bribes from military contractors in exchange for confidential information about government "defense" contracts. Later reports indicate that several members of the House of Representatives were also involved.

On June 15, the *Times* reported that a federal inquiry into drug trafficking at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in California was discontinued when investigators discovered that an "alarming" number of employees were involved in drug use and trafficking. The top security chief of the laboratory, which designs a large percentage of the country's nuclear arsenal and other secret weaponry, warned his own investigators "we would have to arrest 20 percent of the lab" if the continued their investigation. The investigation, named Operation Snowstorm, was shut down in September, 1986, by officials of the laboratory and of the Department of Energy, according to a report by the House Energy and Commerce Committee.

Although the story has stopped appearing in the headlines, anyone who's been following the news realizes that the United States government supported and financed Panamanian dicatator Manuel Noriega despite knowledge that he was involved in drug trafficking.

Although this story, too, has ceased being prominent in the media, it is quite obvious that the U.S. government was financing its military aid to the Nicaraguan contras, as well as its attempts to induce Khomeini to order his disciples into releasing the hostages, through drug dealing.

And they wonder why so many of the country's youth are into drugs!□

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